

The University of Michigan

Madness in Greek Thought and Custom

BY

AGNES CARR VAUGHAN

Assistant Professor of Greek in Wells College

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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PREFACE

Before presenting the material of this dissertation I wish to take the opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the assistance and encouragement given me in my work by the Greek and Latin faculties of the University of Michigan and of Bryn Mawr College.

I wish to thank especially Professor Campbell Bonner of the University of Michigan for his direction and supervision during the entire period of preparation of this dissertation and to express my gratitude to Professor Francis W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan for his interest in the work and for his many valuable suggestions.

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WELLS COLLEGE,

November, 1919.

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MADNESS IN GREEK THOUGHT AND CUSTOM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The attention of the writer was first attracted to the subject of madness and its relation to popular thought by various allusions in works of reference dealing with the social and economic side of ancient Greek life. Investigation of previous dissertations upon this subject revealed that prior to the year 1909, it had, with a single exception,¹ been treated only in its legal and pathological aspects.²

The effect upon the popular mind of Greece of so mysterious a phenomenon as madness, its bearing upon the religious, economic, and legal institutions of the country, have so far received no attention beyond the scattered comments to be found in works concerned with the social and religious phases of Greek life.³ Even in the writings of such authorities as B. Schmidt, Hartland, and Lawson, the existence of so rich a field of investigation for the student of comparative folk-lore has received only casual mention.

The original intention of the present study was to make a full presentation of all phases of madness as portrayed through the literature and inscriptions of Greece; owing, however, to the wide scope and heterogeneous character of the material collected, it later seemed best to confine the work within more definite limits. This decision was strengthened by the publica-

¹ Thomée, I. H., *Historia Insanorum apud Graecos*. Bonn Diss., 1830.

² For a brief historical survey of insanity, see Tuke, D. H., *Dict. Psych. Med.*, London, 1892. Vol. I, pp. 1-26.

³ For example, Farnell, L., *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896-1909; Frazer, Sir James, *The Golden Bough*³, London, 1911-1915; Harrison, *Prol. to the Study of Gr. Rel.*,³ Cambridge, 1908; Cook, A. B., *Zeus*, Cambridge, 1914; Rohde, E., *Psyche*, Tübingen, 1903, etc.

tion at Giessen in 1909 of a dissertation by Tambornino⁴ dealing with demonology and exorcism. In the following chapters, therefore, there will be no discussion of this material.⁵

Before making a detailed statement of the purpose and scope of the present investigation, it is advisable to survey, briefly, previous work done in this field, with the object of enabling the student to understand clearly the distinction in point of view between such works and the present study.

In the year 1830 there was published at Bonn the first definite attempt to make an historical study of madness. This was a quasi-medical dissertation by Thomée, based upon material gathered from the whole field of Greek literature. One-fifth of the entire dissertation is devoted to a discussion of the prevalence of insanity among the ancient Greeks.⁶ The remainder deals with material selected from the philosophical writings of the period beginning with Empedocles and closing with Aristotle, and from the works of the Greek physicians from the time of Hippocrates of Cos to that of Archigenes and Posidonius. Legislation as affecting madness is dismissed in a single paragraph based upon a passage from Plato.

Certain points in Thomée's dissertation call for special criticism. The first objection to be made is to his lack of systematic classification of subject matter. This fault is especially noticeable in the first part of the dissertation; for the second part follows the chronological order of the philosophers and physicians cited by the author. The intention of the author is to arrive at some definite conclusion concerning the prevalence of insanity among the Greeks. The discussion is based almost entirely upon an earlier work by Boettiger⁷ who seems to have

⁴ Julius Tambornino, *De Antiquorum Daemonismo*, Giessen, 1909.

⁵ For Lycanthropy, see Roscher, W. H., *Das kyan. behand. Frag. des Mar. von Side. Abhand. d. könig-sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 17 (1897), *phil.-hist. kl.* For madness in connection with the stage, Harries, H., *Tragici Graeci qua arte usi sint in describenda insania*, Leipzig, 1891. Vase-paintings representing madness, Huddilston, J. H., *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-paintings*, London, 1898.

⁶ *Frequentia Insanorum apud Graecos*.

⁷ *Über die ältesten Spuren d. Wulfswuth in der griech. Myth.*, ed. Sprengel in *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Med.* 1. 2.

held the same view to which Thomée himself inclines. Thomée, judging from the frequency with which madness is used as a theme in Greek literature, maintains that it was far more prevalent among the people than had previously been supposed. He is strengthened in his opinion by the fact that throughout Greek literature so many cases of insanity are feigned. This, to his mind, suggests the possibility of an advantage to be gained from a plea of insanity. The second objection to Thomée's dissertation lies, therefore, in the fact that he neither states this opinion with any clearness nor draws from it any possible conclusion. Later in his dissertation, he inserts a classification of the kinds of insanity recognized by the Greek physicians (*melancholia*, *mania*, *amentia*),⁸ and after referring briefly to the works of scholars⁹ who have held various views on this subject, he states his own opinion, which is, that *melancholia* was more common than either *mania* or *amentia*. The reason for this he assigns to the instability of economic conditions and to the extreme rigour of the climate in certain regions of the country.¹⁰

The subject matter is treated under the following heads:

- I. Frequency of insanity among the Greeks.
- II. Method of treatment.
- III. Insanity according to the Greek physicians.

The first division consists of a rather superficial discussion of Lycanthropy¹¹ in which the author is guided by the earlier

⁸ Thomée, p. 14. *Nec non insanorum omnia tria genera apud Graecos reperiuntur, melancholici scilicet, maniacy, et amentia*. No attempt is made to arrange cases of madness under these heads.

⁹ Leichenstaedt—Platon's *Lehren auf dem Gebiete der Naturforschung und Heilkunde*, Leipzig, 1826—thought *mania* more prevalent. Nasse, *De Insania Commentatio secundum libros Hippocraticos*, Bonn, 1820. Thomée and Nasse agree concerning *melancholia*.

¹⁰ Thomée, p. 18. *Alterum vero ex parte ignorare non possumus, insaniam praecipue praeis temporibus cum vivendi ratione, moribus, religione eius aetatis et cum climate maxime cohaesisse*. The morose disposition of Hesiod is considered by Thomée to have been caused by climatic conditions in Boeotia.

¹¹ See note 6. For a discussion of Lycanthropy in folk-lore, cf. Tylor, *E., Prim. Cult.*, London, 1913, II, 193, "Again, the blood-sucker is very gen-

investigations of Boettiger¹² and to which he himself makes no original contribution. The discussion of Marcellus¹³ is little more than a mere statement of the symptoms of Lycanthropy as given by Aëtius. The malady of the Proetides, classed as Boanthropy (a term borrowed from Boettiger), receives the most detailed consideration of the first part of the study. In connection with this, a certain statement of Hesiod's¹⁴ is understood by the author to indicate that the Proetides were affected with leprosy. Under the head of Boanthropy are placed the tales of the Bacchantes, of Orpheus, and of Pentheus. The myth of Io too, and the various legends of transformation into animal shapes, occupy a brief space under the first division. The enumeration of these legends, however, is incomplete and their treatment inadequate. Other well-known legends of madness, such as Dionysus driven distracted by Hera, Dionysus himself sending a homicidal insanity upon Lycurgus, the frenzy of Heracles, of Athamas, and of Ajax, and the delusion under which the mad Thrasyllus labored are mentioned, but with no attempt at discussion or classification. As examples of madness due to intoxication, a phase which has not been touched upon by the present writer, the cases of Cleomenes and Apollodorus are cited. Several cases of feigned madness are also mentioned.

Musolepsia and Nympholepsia¹⁵ Thomée classifies as dis-
 erally described under the Slavonic names of were-wolf (*wilkodlak*, *bru-
 kolaka*, etc.); the descriptions of the two creatures are inextricably mixed
 up, and a man whose eye-brows meet, as if his soul were taking flight like
 a butterfly, to enter some other body, may be marked by this sign as a
 were-wolf or a vampire." Boettiger, according to Thomée (p. 3) based
 his argument on Ovid, *Met.*, i. 274 f., Apollod., 3. 81. For a recent dis-
 cussion, see Cook, *Zeus*, pp. 64 ff.

¹² Cf. note 7.

¹³ Cf. note 6.

¹⁴ Fr. ap. Eustath. *ad. Odyss.* 14. p. 1746. 7.

Καὶ γὰρ σφιν κεφαλῇσι κατὰ κνύος αἰνὸν ἔχενεν,
 ἀλφὸς γὰρ χροῖα πάντα κατέσχεθεν, ἐκ δὲ νῦ χαῖται
 ἔβρεον ἐκ κεφαλῶν, ψίλωτο δὲ καλὰ κάρηνα.

Cf. Thomée, p. 5.

¹⁵ Thomée, p. 19.

eases, the causes of which are ascribed to climatic conditions in the neighborhood of Cithaeron and Helicon. In the discussion of this phase of madness, Thomée shows that his interest is, for the most part, that of a physician.

The second part of the dissertation opens with the following statement: *Poetae, philosophi et medici Graecorum insanorum mala sorte miro omnes modo afficiebantur, et civitati ipsi eorum salus lege sanctae curae erat.*¹⁶ The authorities upon whose evidence Thomée has relied are Polybius,¹⁷ Aelian,¹⁸ and Plato.¹⁹ This material should have been treated, logically, in the last division of the dissertation in which there is a brief discussion of Greek legislation concerning the insane. The passage in Plato mentioned by Thomée does not prove, as he infers, that laws were passed to alleviate the condition of this unfortunate class of society and, later, he himself arrives at the correct conjecture that Greece did not concern herself to any marked extent with the care of her insane.

The remainder of the dissertation may, for the purposes of the present study, be disregarded; for with the possible exception of a paragraph or two relating to methods of healing, the attention of the writer is wholly given to a discussion of madness from a philosophical and medical standpoint. Aside from lustrations and expiatory offerings, the only cures mentioned belong strictly in the realm of medicine.

Unfortunately, Thomée's contribution is rendered almost valueless by its incoherence and failure to draw any definite conclusions. His chief importance lies in the fact that in this particular field he was a pioneer and as such alone does he merit attention.

The next work to be considered is that of Semelaigne, (*Études Historiques sur L'Aliénation Mentale dans L'Antiquité*, Paris, 1869). A glance at the table of contents shows that Semelaigne was primarily interested in tracing historically the de-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁷ IV. 20 f.

¹⁸ V. H., 5. 15.

¹⁹ *Laws*, XI. 928, 934. For a discussion of the passages from Polybius, Aelian, and Plato, *vide* Thomée, pp. 111 ff.

velopment of pathological treatment applied to the insane. The investigation is thorough and the results satisfactory. The book consists of six chapters, the first five of which discuss the period of Hippocrates, the age of the Alexandrian physicians, and the Greco-Roman period. This part of the work, interesting from a medical point of view, has been of use to the present writer only for the information contained therein concerning the treatment of the violently insane: tying, chaining, whipping, etc.

The sixth and last chapter of Semelaigne's work is entitled *Partie Législative*. It deals with such special topics as *Séquestration*, *Responsabilité Criminelle*, *Responsabilité Civile*, *Curatelle*, *Mariage*, *Testaments*, *Codicilles*, etc. The authorities quoted extend from the Laws of the Twelve Tables through the declining years of the Roman Empire. Rome is taken as the type of ancient legislation. Since Greece was the model upon which Rome fashioned her early laws, the author infers Greek legislation to have been practically the counterpart of that of Rome. So convinced is he of this fundamental similarity that he dismisses Greek legislation without further comment. He believes, then, Greek legislation on the subject of the insane to have been similar to, if not identical with, that found in Roman law. To the mind of the present writer, Semelaigne's position is not tenable; for, since we know that in certain other aspects Greek law did differ materially from that of Rome, and since we have no proof that in this respect they were identical, we have no right so to assume.

In dealing with the legal aspects of madness in Greece, the sixth chapter of Semelaigne's work has been of great value to the present dissertation, since it affords a convenient means of comparison between the laws of the two nations. Such indebtedness has been fully acknowledged in the footnotes to the fifth chapter, in which this material has been treated. Owing to the technical nature of the subject matter, a certain similarity in terminology has been unavoidable.

The dissertation by Julius Tambornino (*De antiquorum daemonismo*; Giessen, 1909), differs markedly from all pre-

vious investigations in this field. As the title indicates, the author has confined himself to the theory of possession. The treatment is, on the whole, somewhat too limited in its use of material from the literature of historic Greece. The bulk of the discussion is given to the Christian theory of possession.

The work is divided into three chapters, the first of which (pp. 1-54) consists of a valuable collection of all the passages to which reference is made in the body of the book. This collection is particularly valuable for the fact that such passages are quoted in the original, thus obviating all danger of false interpretation. The second chapter, briefly developed, is concerned with such special investigations as *De possessis*, *De possessionis numinibus*, and *De sanandi rationibus*. Toward the close of the chapter are two short sections entitled *De daemonum exeuntium actionibus*, and *De exorcistis*. Criticism of these sections is omitted, since the question of demonology does not form a part of the present study.

In the discussion of *De possessis*, Tambornino has endeavored to ascertain the popular conception of madness among the ancient Greeks. He finds that the average Greek considered the following types of individuals as madmen:

1. Those in whom *subitus pavor*, attributed to Pan, was aroused.
2. Participants in the orgiastic celebrations of Dionysus, Sabazius, the Great Mother, etc., that is, *ἐπὶ παντῶν*.
3. Prophets, because they were filled with divine afflatus.
4. Poets, for whom the Platonic definition is accepted.²⁰
5. All those who deviated in any other striking way from a normal course of life.

The title of the second division of the second chapter, *De possessionis numinibus*, is self-explanatory. *Mania* is understood to include both *animi aegritudines* and *corporis—molestiae*. The definition of *δαίμων*²¹ is of great importance:

²⁰ *Ion*, 533 E-534 A, cf. Tambornino, p. 60.

²¹ Tambornino, p. 62, note 1.

Iuxta adnotare volo veteres Graecos numen hominibus omnis generis mala infligens significare consuevisse voce δαίμων. The first place among divinities of possession is accorded by Tambornino to the diseases themselves. In support of this, he adduces Pliny's statement that such divinities are wont to enter the body in food.²² The Pythagorean belief is alluded to in this connection,²³ and the story of the old man who was stoned to death by the Ephesians as the spirit of the pestilence is also mentioned.²⁴ Personifications, such as *Mania*, *Lyssa*, and *Febris* are briefly touched upon. It is to be regretted that the author did not make any detailed comparison between the ancient belief in personified diseases and its counterpart in modern folk-lore.

μητρόληπτος and *συμφόληπτος* are merely referred to in the discussion of Cybele, the Corybantes, and Pan. Pan and Hecate have the power to cause epilepsy. Tambornino also calls attention to the fact that the nymphs were said to be *μανιώδεις*; for he who drank the waters of certain springs was thought to be in danger of possession by the nymph of the water. Curiously enough, he makes no allusion to the interesting survivals of these older beliefs in the folk-lore of the present day.

The power of possession is also attributed to all lunar goddesses; Selene, Hecate, and Artemis being the divinities named. The greater part of the dissertation is given up to a detailed investigation of the nature of the *δαίμονες* and upon the conclusions arrived at the author bases his theory of possession.

The third division of the second chapter is extremely short. It deals briefly with methods of healing the possessed; but popular cures similar to those included in the fifth chapter of the

²² *Nat. Hist.*, 18. 118 (Mayhoff); cf. Mahābhārata, Nala episode, where Kali is represented as entering into Nala; also Bloomfield "On the Art of Entering Another's Body" in *Proceed. of Amer. Phil. Soc.*, vol. 56 (1917).

²³ The followers of Pythagoras were forbidden to eat beans, for by so doing they might eat the spirits of their ancestors. Tambornino (p. 62) refers to R. Wuensch, *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta*, pp. 31 ff. For the doctrine of the *daimon* he refers to Porphyry, *ad Marcellam* ed. Nauck, p. 281. 24.

²⁴ Philostrat., *Life of Apollonius*, iv. 10; Tamb., p. 63.

present investigation are ignored. A single exception, however, occurs in the discussion of amulets.

Tambornino mentions the belief held by the Greeks that through sacrifices to Dionysus and to the Great Mother, or by the participation on the part of the possessed one in the mysteries of Hecate at Aegina, and in those of the Corybantes, the divinity might be persuaded to leave the body of the sufferer. Magical means of expulsion and incantations to this end are particularly emphasized. This portion of the dissertation is of peculiar value to the student of the classics, since the author includes in it a complete list of the various materials used in antiquity for the purpose of incantation and exorcism.

The present dissertation is not an historical study of the medical theories and treatment of madness in ancient Greece and recourse, therefore, has been made to the works of the Greek physicians only in so far as these works reveal the trend of popular thought upon this subject. The bulk of the material here presented has been gathered from the entire field of Greek classical literature and has been supplemented in many instances by the citation of parallel customs as preserved in modern folk-lore.

The object of the investigation is to present the popular conception of insanity and the popular methods of dealing with it as shown in the general literature of ancient Greece. To this end it has been necessary to study not only the beliefs of the people concerning the causes and cures of the disease, but also the relation of the phenomenon of madness to religion, society, and law. The work has, therefore, the character of a sociological investigation.

Owing to the nature of Tambornino's dissertation, some of the material presented therein and certain of the conclusions arrived at by him have necessarily been incorporated into the present study. In all such instances full acknowledgment of the indebtedness has been made.

CHAPTER II

POPULAR BELIEFS CONCERNING THE CAUSES OF MADNESS

Inherent in the Greek mind was the belief in signs and portents and in the popular mind of today such a belief still survives in the superstitions that warn the unwary against the evil consequences of death and disaster that follow such casual acts as the opening of an umbrella in the house, the breaking of a mirror, and the killing of a spider. One versed in the knowledge of such superstitions feels that he can foretell with accuracy the kind of misfortune consequent upon any one of such portents: the opening of the umbrella, death; the cracking of the mirror, ill luck; the killing of the spider, rain. In the British West Indies it is believed that to sleep with the light of the moon upon one's face is to run the risk of madness. Beliefs similar to this last existed in ancient Greece. Galen, for example, writes that the increased beating of the vein in the inner side of the arm is symptomatic of madness²⁵ and, according to Artemidorus, for a poor man to dream of repeating songs in the marketplace or on the streets was a sign of similar significance, because such was the behavior of madmen.²⁶ He also states that to dream of carrying the thyrsus in honor of the god was an indication of future madness. From the consequences of this dream slaves, however, were exempt.²⁷

There is some evidence to show that among the Greeks the season of the year was believed to have an influence on the phenomena of madness. Thus attacks of insanity or epilepsy were more feared at certain seasons than at others. Hippocrates

²⁵ *Medicorum opera quae extant* ed. Kühn, Leipzig, 1821-1833, vol. 4. *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur*, p. 803, l. 16 f. On the subject of pulsations, see Diels, H., *Beiträge zur Zuck. d. Okz. und Or. I. Die griech. Zuck.* (*Melampus περί παλμών*) in *Abhand. d. König. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1907.

²⁶ Artem., I. 76. 26 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2. 37. 12 ff.

says that phrenitis seized upon a great many victims during the period which lasted from approximately the time of the equinox until the setting of the Pleiades. He also mentions the beginning of winter as a time of especial danger,²⁸ and Aretæus expresses the opinion that relapses were to be feared in the spring.²⁹ A statement of Suidas agrees with that of Hippocrates; for he states that in the month Maimacterion it was the custom to offer to Zeus Meilichios a propitiatory victim, since at this season of the year the air was disturbed and gusty, with frequent changes, and fanatical madness was to be feared.³⁰ Interesting in this connection are certain passages in the late astronomical poem of Manetho³¹ in which it is stated that when the heavenly bodies are in certain positions, human beings are more prone to attack from mental disorders. Attacks of epilepsy may be feared when the moon is in conjunction with Mars.³² Frenzy and madness are indicated when Saturn and Mars are sinking, and the sun and moon are in opposition. At this time men imagine they see the forms of the dead about them.³³ Slaves of the gods and custodians of the temples are subject to madness when Venus and Saturn are in conjunction.³⁴

Belief in the power of the gods to cause madness was widespread in the popular thought of Greece. Man incurred the anger of a divinity by some act of omission or commission, for which he was then duly punished, and a favorite method of chastisement seems to have been the infliction of madness. Thus Dionysus is credited with sending madness upon those who opposed the introduction of his worship. Pentheus,³⁵ the

²⁸ *Epid.*, I. 9 (p. 654).

²⁹ *Aret.*, I. 6, p. 59 (Adams).

³⁰ Suidas s. v. *Μαίμακτηριών*; cf. Eustath. *ad Odyss.*, 22. 481; Harpocrat. s. v. *Μαίμακτηριών*. For discussion of Zeus *Meilichios*, see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I. 64 f.

³¹ For complete disosution of the poem (written under foreign influence) see Koechly, A., *praef.* esp. p. x f., *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici*. Didot ed. Paris, 1851. Also Croiset, *Hist. de la Litt. Grec.*, Paris, 1910, vol. v, p. 805.

³² Manetho, 6. 608 ff. For a curious survival of this belief, see ch. 17 of Raphael's *Medical Astrology*, London, 1910.

³³ Manetho, I. (5) 229 ff.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 4. 214 ff.

³⁵ Eur. *Bacch.* 616 ff., 849 ff.; Apollod. III. 36; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v. 151, 167 f.

Minyae,³⁶ Lycurgus,³⁷ and the daughters of Eleuther are numbered among the god's victims. The daughters of Eleuther, says Suidas,³⁸ saw an "apparition of Dionysus wearing a black goatskin and they reviled him," whereupon they were punished by the god. Eleuther, in obedience to an oracle, then instituted the cult of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin, in order that through this act of propitiation his daughters might be freed from their madness.³⁹ "The story," writes Cornford,⁴⁰ "is a double of the more famous instance of the madness sent upon the women of Thebes, when the God came to his own, and his own received him not." According to Farnell, the epithet *Μελάναιγος* points to the chthonic character of Dionysus. His association "with Eleutherai . . . suggests that the Attic god brought from Boetia his double character of a vegetation deity, worshipped with a phallic ritual, and of a chthonian divinity connected with the world of souls."⁴¹ The popular conception was, however, that Dionysus was angered, and that therefore he sent madness.

The sacrifice of a victim to Zeus *Meilichios* in the month of Maimacterion has been previously noted. This is the fifth month in the Greek year and was named from Zeus *Maimaktes*. Euphemistically he is known as Zeus *Meilichios*.⁴² It is, however, in his character as an angered god that he sends madness. This may be seen in the case of Salmoneus the scorner, who for his presumption was struck by the divine thunderbolt.⁴³

³⁶ Anton. Lib. 10; Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 38; Ael. V. H. 3. 42; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v. 3, 164, 167.

³⁷ Apollod. III. 34; Hyg. *fab.* 132; Diod. Sic. III. 65. 3 ff.; *Schol. II. VI.* 131; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v. 88, 103; Harrison, *Proleg.* 369 ff.; Roscher, *Lex.* II. 2193 f. For art representations, Baumeister, *Denk.*, p. 837; Michaelis, *Annal. Inst.* 1872, pp. 248-270.

³⁸ S. v. *Μέλαν*; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 662; Steph. *Ἑλευθεραί*.

³⁹ Suidas s. v. *Μέλαν*; Hyg. *fab.* 225; Paus. 9. 20. 2.

⁴⁰ Cornford, F. M., *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, London, 1914, p. 66.

⁴¹ *Cults of the Greek States*, v. 131; cf. *μελάναιγος* . . . *Ἐρινός* Aesch. *Seven against Thebes* 698 ff.; Cook, *Zeus*, p. 657, note 1.

⁴² Cf. note 30.

⁴³ Apollod. I. 89; Diod. Sic. 4. 68. 2; Hyg. *fab.* 61; Suidas, s. v. *Σαλμονεύς*.

Hera is said to have caused the madness of Heracles,⁴⁴ Io,⁴⁵ Lamia,⁴⁶ Athamas,⁴⁷ the Proetides,⁴⁸ and that of Dionysus⁴⁹ himself. An examination of these legends will show that the prevailing motives by which Hera was actuated were jealousy and anger.

That madness might be caused by Aphrodite, Pan, the Corybantes, or by Cybele is indicated by a passage in the *Hippolytus* referring to the love-sick Phædra.⁵⁰ Actæon⁵¹ was maddened by Artemis, Ajax⁵² was victimized by Athena, and Cassandra⁵³ by Apollo.

The diseases⁵⁴ under the guise of "individual personal spirits" were believed to roam over the earth and to enter at will into the human body. Homer's sick men are oppressed by these spirits.⁵⁵ Often they entered the body through the food, and their presence was made known through strange noises in

⁴⁴ Eur. *Her. Fur.* 830 ff.; Apollod. II. 72; Hyg. *fab.* 32; also Harries, H., *Tragici Graeci qua arte usi sint in describenda insania*, p. 11.

⁴⁵ Aesch. *Prom.* 589 ff.; *ibid. Supp.* 291 ff.; Apollod. II. 5; Hyg. *fab.* 145; Nonnus, 3. 264 ff.; for ancient rationalization, see Palaeph. 16 (15).

⁴⁶ Heracl. 34. (*Mythog. Graec.* III₂); Suidas, s. v.; Photius, s. v.; Preller, L., *Griechische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1894, p. 618; Roscher, *Lex.* II₂, p. 1818 ff.; in folk-lore of modern Greece, B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 132 ff.; Lawson, J. C., *Modern Greek Folk-lore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 174 ff.

⁴⁷ Apollod. III. 28; 84; Leutsch, *Paroem. Gr.* I. 94. 38; for madness of Ino, see *Schol. Eur. Med.* 1284; *Schol. ad. Lycoph.* 229.

⁴⁸ Bacchyl. 10. 43 ff.; Apollod. III. 33; Serv. *ad. Virg. Ecl.* 6. 48. Ascribed to Dionysus by Diod. Sic. iv. 68. 4; Ael. V. H. 3. 42. Cf. also Apollod. II. 26. Discussed by Cook, *Zeus*, p. 451 f.; Roscher, *Abhand. d. König sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, vol. 17 (1897), p. 13, phil.-hist. kl.

⁴⁹ Apollod. III. 33.

⁵⁰ Eur. *Hipp. Prolegom.*, also 142 ff.; cf. *Schol.* on 143; Harrison, J., *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 26. Discussed by Tambornino, pp. 64-66.

⁵¹ Apollod. III. 30; Paus. 9. 2. 3; Hyg. *fab.* 180; for other versions, see Diod. Sic. iv. 81. 3 ff.; cf. also Eur. *Bacch.* 340.

⁵² Soph. *Ajax*, 50 ff.; cf. *Schol.* l. 50; Apollod. *ep.* (21) 6.

⁵³ Aesch. *Agam.* 1080 f.; Eur. *Trojan Women*, 408; Apollod. III. 151; Hyg. *fab.* 93.

⁵⁴ With the exception of parallels from modern folk-lore, Tambornino (p. 61) has anticipated the following discussion concerning personified diseases.

⁵⁵ *Od.* 5. 396; cf. 10. 64.

the stomach.⁵⁶ Madness was personified in the dread goddesses Mania⁵⁷ and Lyssa;⁵⁸ the goddess of fever was known and feared in Rome,⁵⁹ and even today in northern India the goddess of smallpox exacts her toll.⁶⁰

The belief in personified diseases among primitive peoples has been well described by Tylor:⁶¹ "The belief prevailing through the lower culture that the diseases which vex mankind are brought by individual personal spirits, is one which has produced striking examples of mythic development. Thus in Burma the Karen lives in terror of the mad "la," the epileptic "la," and the rest of the seven evil demons who go about seeking his life; and it is with a fancy not many degrees removed from this early stage of thought that the Persian sees in bodily shape the apparition of Al, the scarlet fever:

'Would you know Al? She seems a blushing maid,
With locks of flame and cheeks all rosy red.'

From the world below⁶² came maleficent beings to prey upon man and cause his mind to go astray. Hecate, the Erinyes, and the spirits of murdered men were believed to send madness as punishment for certain crimes.⁶³ During the time of the

⁵⁶ Tamb. p. 62.

⁵⁷ Tamb. p. 64; see also Fest. II. p. 95; Pape, *Wörterb. Marla*.

⁵⁸ Tamb. p. 63; Steph. *Ábssa*; Harries, *Trag. Gr. qua arte usi sint in descr. ins.* p. 19.

⁵⁹ Tamb. p. 63; sources: Plin. *N. H.* II. 15; Cic. *de nat. deor.* III. 63.

⁶⁰ Crooke, W., *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, Westminster, 1896, vol. I. p. 125, "Sitalâ, 'she that loves the cool,' so called euphemistically in consequence of the fever which accompanies smallpox." Cf. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* I. p. 126.

⁶¹ *Prim. Cult.* I. p. 295; sources: Jas. Atkinson, *'Customs of the Women of Persia,'* p. 49; cf. Russian belief, Cook, *Zeus*, p. 185.

⁶² Madness caused by demonic influence is fully discussed by Tambornino, pp. 67 ff.

⁶³ Hipp. *Sacred Disease*, ch. 1, p. 362 (ed. Littré); Aesch. *Choeph.* 1048 ff.; Plato, *Laws*, IX. 865D ff.; *Schol. Eur. Med.* 1172; *Eur. Hipp.* 142. For discussion, Tamb. pp. 67 ff.; Roscher, *Abhand. d. könig. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, 17 (1897), *phil.-hist. kl.* p. 41, n. 110; R. J. Bonner, *Cl. Ph.* VI. p. 18, n. 6; M. Mauss, *Rev. d. l'hist. d. relig.* (1896), p. 279.

Anthesteria⁶⁴ in ancient Greece, and in Rome during the month of February, the month sacred to the Cult of the Dead,⁶⁵ the spirits were accustomed to return to earth for a specified time. Thus at the close of the Anthesteria occurred what might be termed "All Saints' Day," when mankind was especially open to the evil influence of these spirits, the effect of which might perhaps be madness, illness, or death.^{65a} In modern Greece this fear of the dead is felt during the month of March.⁶⁶

Madness was also believed to be caused in various other ways. Substances, such as certain plants, were endowed with peculiarly baleful qualities. Chief among these were the mandragora,⁶⁷ about which many legends were current, the hyoscamus,⁶⁸ and a few plants of the nightshade family, particularly the black-spined variety.⁶⁹ Other causes of madness were poisons,⁷⁰ drugs⁷¹ honey,⁷² wine made of a certain sea-grape,⁷³ the bite of a snake,⁷⁴ certain waters,⁷⁵ and myrrh the scent of which would make a cat go mad.⁷⁶

⁶⁴ Hesych. s. v. Μιαρά ημέραι; Phot. μαρα ημέρα; cf. Manetho. vi. 558 ff.; Murray, *Four Stages of Gr. Rel.*, New York, 1912, p. 48; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v. 215 ff.

⁶⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, 2. 44 ff.; 3. 443.

^{65a} Suidas s. v. θύραζε; Daremberg and Saglio, s. v. *Anthesteria*; Murray, *Four Stages of Gr. Rel.*, p. 48 and notes; Harrison, *Proleg.* pp. 32-54; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II. p. 40. Cf. the somewhat similar belief prevalent in modern Greece, Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Gr. Rel.* p. 277 f.

⁶⁶ B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 97.

⁶⁷ Ps. Hipp. 2. 139; Aret. I. 6, p. 58; Ael. *De Nat. Animal.* 14. 27; for full discussion, see Randolph, C. B., *Proceed. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sc.* vol. 40 (1905), pp. 485 ff.

⁶⁸ Hen-bane, *Cent. Dict.*; Diosc. vol. I. 4. 69 (ed. Sprengel); Steph, s. v. ὕσκάμος.

⁶⁹ Diosc. vol. I. 4. 74 (ed. Sprengel). For other dangerous plants, Diosc. *De Venen. Eor. Praec. et. Med.* 20; Geop. 11. 28.

⁷⁰ Philo Jud. *De Spec. Leg.* 3. 17; Ach. Tat. 4. 9. (Vol. I. p. 117 Hercher's ed.)

⁷¹ Plut. *Arat.* 54; *ibid. Alex.* 77. 3.

⁷² Strabo, 12. 3. 18; Diod. Sic. XIV. 30. 1; Diosc. *De Simpl.* 2. 138.

⁷³ *Orph. Lith.* p. 143. l. 2 f.; cf. Damig. 29.

⁷⁴ Ael. *De Nat. Animal.* 4. 57. 28.

⁷⁵ Hipp. *Airs, Waters, Places*, 7; Diod. Sic. II. 14. 4; Nonnus, 17. 114 ff.; Vitruv. 8. 3. 22.

⁷⁶ Plut. *Conj. Praec.* 44; loco-weed is said to madden horses; cf. *ἵππομανές* Theoc. *Id.* 2. 48; Phot. s. v.; *Acts* 26. 24.

Magical means were also employed to bring about madness. The sorceress Medea seems to have included this special power in her list of accomplishments; for she is said to have caused madness to come upon Talus.⁷⁷ Modern folk-lore contains many such tales. An interesting one is the following: "Among the Negroes of the United States the recipe for driving an enemy mad is to get one of his hairs and slip it inside the bark of a tree. When the bark grows over it, his intellect is gone forever."⁷⁸

Plutarch writes that at the time of the Mithradatic war, a woman from Cyrene, Aretaphile by name, was believed to have employed magical means to destroy a young man's reason. The woman, it seems, wished to make the young man fall in love with her daughter.⁷⁹

That evil will result from a fixed gaze was a well-grounded belief. For example, in the *Ajax* of Sophocles, Odysseus will not venture to come within the madman's range of vision, until Athena has turned aside the gaze of the frenzied maniac,⁸⁰ and in modern Greece the eyes of certain people may inflict madness, dumbness, or other misfortunes.⁸¹

Such were the popular beliefs concerning the causes of madness. If the subject has been somewhat lightly touched upon in this chapter, it has been due to the author's desire not to encroach upon that portion of Tambornino's dissertation dealing with a part of this material.

We shall now consider the popular criteria of madness. By primitive people unusual behaviour was frequently considered a sign of madness, often explained by the theory of possession. Thus the madman is accounted for by the savage simply as one

⁷⁷ Apollod. i. 141; Cook, *Zeus*, p. 720 note. Sources: Zenob. 5. 85; Ap. Rh. 4. 1651 ff.

⁷⁸ Hartland, E., *Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894, vol. II. p. 73 f.; cf. a grewsome tale related on p. 73 (vol. II); for other recipes, Frazer, *Golden Bough* I. p. 62 f.

⁷⁹ Plut. *Mul. Virt.* 256 E; for an interesting use of this same theme in literature, see Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra's "*El Licenciado Vidriera*."

⁸⁰ *Aj.* 69, reference may be merely to physical fear.

⁸¹ Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Gr. Rel.* p. 10.

who "has fiends."⁸² Tambornino in his second chapter says that anyone who was possessed by a divinity was thought mad.⁸³ This accords well with the explanation of the savage. Tambornino states also that among the Greeks all who deviated from the normal course of life were accounted for by the same general statement: they were possessed.⁸⁴ The natural effect of the progress of civilization would be to differentiate between various kinds of madness, but it is to be noted that in the mind of the primitive Greek, no distinction was made between epilepsy or the sacred disease, and the frenzy possessing prophets and poets. Moreover, transformation into animal shapes, seizure by the nymphs, the unaccountable, sudden panic which terrorized whole armies were all characterized as madness.⁸⁵

The lack of discrimination throughout Greek literature in the use of various terms employed to convey the idea of madness led Thomée to infer that insanity, as we understand the term today, was widely prevalent in Greece,⁸⁶ whereas the truth is that expressions such as *μαίνομαι* or *ὁ μανείς* must have been a part of the ordinary vocabulary of the average Greek, and have meant no more than does the popular misuse of the word "crazy."

The survival of the popular conception of madness in the folk-lore of modern Greece can perhaps be best observed in the were-wolf superstition or in the tales of seizure by the Nereids. It is said that an Arcadian peasant put to an archæologist certain questions with reference to an account which he had seen of the "cannibalistic habits of Red Indians," and he wished to know, "first, whether they ran on all-fours, and

⁸² Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II. 130.

⁸³ P. 55. *Ac primum quidem is a numine invasus habebatur, qui mente captus insaniebat.*

⁸⁴ For similar belief in Northern India, see Crooke, *The Pop. Rel. and Folk-lore of North. Ind.* vol. I. ch. 3, "The Godlings of Disease."

Tamb. p. 58. *Denique omnes in mente alienati habebantur, qui aliqua ratione ab usitata vitam agendi norma aberraverant.*

⁸⁵ Discussed by Tambornino pp. 55-62.

⁸⁶ Pp. 12 ff.

secondly, whether they went naked or wore wolf-skins.”⁸⁷ The character of these questions shows with what the peasant was comparing his newly acquired knowledge.⁸⁸

The belief existing among the ancient Greeks in the power of the nymphs to take possession of a mortal has been fully recognized. Tambornino, by whom *νυμφόληπτος*⁸⁹ has been briefly discussed, has, however, not called attention to the story of Hylas, the small page of Heracles. The tale has been immortalized by Theocritus.⁹⁰ We see Heracles wandering over the deserted land calling vainly upon the name of Hylas. Thrice he called and thrice the boy replied, but faint came his answer; for Hylas was sitting below the surface of the pool on the knees of the water-nymph who would not let him go.

Woodland nymphs were also to be feared. Socrates and Phædrus withdrew to the shade of a nearby tree and offered a propitiatory prayer to the nymphs and to Pan.⁹¹ The counterpart may be found in the modern Greek term “Nereid-seized.”⁹² Numerous tales of seizure by Nereids are current.⁹³ Thus the supposed sanctuary of the Pierian Muses is feared as a place where one may be seized by madness.⁹⁴ Calamity of some kind, often madness, overtakes the unwary one who penetrates to the inmost recesses where the Nereids disport themselves. He who ventures to intrude at midday is in especial danger of this disaster.⁹⁵

⁸⁷ Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Gr. Rel.* p. 240.

⁸⁸ See Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* vol. I. pp. 308-315; Lawson, p. 239; recent theory, Cook, *Zeus*, p. 63 f.

⁸⁹ P. 66.

⁹⁰ *Id.* 13.

⁹¹ Plat. *Phædr.* 238 D.

⁹² For discussion of *Neraides*, see B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, pp. 98-131, esp. p. 121.

⁹³ Seizure of a girl and her father attributed to Nereids, Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Gr. Rel.* p. 160 f.; cf. C. I. G. 6201 *ap.* B. Schmidt, p. 122. n. tr. Lawson, p. 142:

‘Trust ye the fables of yore: ’tis not Death, but the nymphs of the river
Seeing your daughter so sweet stole her to be their delight.’

⁹⁴ Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Greek Rel.* p. 162.

⁹⁵ B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* p. 121; Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Gr. Rel.* p. 139.

A modern survival of this belief in seizure by the Nereids is found in an instance cited as having happened some two generations ago in Greece, when the death of a young girl was ascribed to the nymphs who desired her for a playmate.⁹⁶ And a counterpart of the same belief is found in the folk tales of the children who are beloved of the fairies and who spend long hours playing with them. In such tales a child disappears and the bereft parents can only believe that he has been carried off by his elfin playmates.

⁹⁶ Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Gr. Rel.* p. 141; cf. p. 142.

"Thus in Arcadia I was once assured that a small girl had been carried off by Nereids in a whirlwind, and had been found again some weeks after on a lonely mountain side some five or six hours distant from her home in a condition which showed that she had been well fed and well cared for in the interval."

CHAPTER III

MADNESS IN RELATION TO RELIGION

Since, in the conception of primitive man, madness is, for the most part, possession by a divine being, we must expect to find a close connection existing between madness and religion. The amount of respect or sacredness felt toward a god by a people who hold the theory of possession must necessarily be transferred to that human habitation in which the god has temporarily enshrined himself. The converse of this statement is also true. So long as a people worship, in the true sense of the word, their gods, those gods never lose for them the mysterious awe inspired by the inexplicable. It is necessary to bear in mind the two-fold aspect of Greek religion which consists of: first, a worship of those deities or spirits whose relations with man are on a friendly basis; and second, a worship in which the element of propitiation is present. The trend of recent investigation into the religion of primitive Greece is toward a belief in the priority of the cult of the dead, which would in turn tend to establish the priority of rites of propitiation. Upon the basis of our present knowledge, the question of priority can not be settled. The fact remains that primitive man believed in the existence of friendly and unfriendly spirits, and his effort was directed, on the one hand, toward the maintenance of the friendly relation, and on the other, toward the winning over of the unfriendly powers. No philosophic reflection was present in his mind concerning the nature of the possessing deity; for it was only in later speculative thought that any attempt was made "to define the nature of god, and the relation of man to god."⁹⁷

In modern primitive belief the insane are often accorded a certain amount of reverence. Their persons, as the abode of the deity, are sacred. Thus it is said that among the Arabs an

⁹⁷ Fairbanks, A., *A Handbook of Greek Religion*, New York, 1910, p. 26.

insane person is under the special protection of Allah. A kind of worship is paid by the Baralongs to all "deranged persons, as under the direct influence of a deity."⁹⁸ The ascendancy which the so-called "holy men" of Syria have gained over the minds of the people is enormous. They are believed to be possessed by a *jinn* or spirit and all orders given by them to the people must be obeyed.⁹⁹ Among the Chinese and North American Indians a similar feeling toward the insane is found.

As illustrative of this attitude among the African blacks is a story¹⁰⁰ which is told of a white family who were living in Africa at the time of a native uprising. An attack was made upon them in which the entire family, with the exception of one girl, were murdered. The girl managed to escape to the top of the house, where, climbing upon the ridge-pole, she began to shriek, tear her hair, and dance as wildly as her precarious foothold would allow. The attention of the revelling savages below was soon attracted. Gradually they became quiet as the whisper passed around that the girl had lost her *soul*. Realizing that her scheme had succeeded, she scrambled down the outside of the house and walked fearlessly about among the savages, taking care, however, not to forget her rôle. The crowd parted before her, allowing her to go her way unmolested. Later she was approached reverently, and offered the use of a hut, and there she remained for some time, well cared for, until she managed to make her escape.

The point made clear by this and similar tales is that to the

⁹⁸ Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II. 130, among other authorities cited by Tylor are, Casalis, '*Basutos*,' p. 247; Callaway, '*Rel. of Amazulu*,' p. 147, etc. For respect paid to madmen in the Georgian and Society Islands, cf. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II. 128; note phrase, "inspired idiot."

⁹⁹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, v. 77, authority S. G. Curtiss, *Prim. Sem. Rel. Today*, p. 152, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, v. 65.

¹⁰⁰ No authority can be given for this story. The writer read it years ago in some book on missionary travel or folk-lore. Cf., however, the following from Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* I. 437, "To the negroes of North Guinea, derangement or dotage is caused by the patient being prematurely deserted by his soul, sleep being a more temporary withdrawal." Tylor's authority is J. L. Wilson, '*W. Afr.*' p. 220.

native African mind any strange or inexplicable conduct is due to the momentary departure of the soul. The body, left to its own devices, is irresponsible and must be well treated and cared for, in order that the soul, upon its return, may find its abode in good condition.

There is some evidence to show that the ancient Greeks, in common with primitive peoples of today, considered a madman sacred; although it is probable that such a feeling was prevalent only toward those who seemed filled with a kind of inspired madness. It must be remembered, however, that inspiration implied insanity.¹⁰¹ An Epirote custom noted by Strabo¹⁰² is illustrative of this feeling. "The sanctuary owned church lands of great extent peopled by sacred slaves, and it was ruled by a high-priest, who ranked next after the king. Many of these slaves were inspired by the deity and prophesied; and when one of them had been for some time in this state of divine frenzy, wandering alone in the forest, the high-priest had him caught, bound with a sacred chain, and maintained in luxury for a year. Then the poor wretch was led out and anointed with unguents, and sacrificed with other victims to the moon. The mode of sacrifice was this: A man took a sacred spear, and thrust it through the victim's side to the heart. As he staggered and fell, the rest observed closely and drew omens from the manner of his fall. Then the body was dragged or carried away to a certain place where all his fellows stood upon it by way of purification. In this custom, the prophet, or rather the maniac, was plainly supposed to be moon-struck in the most literal sense, that is, possessed or inspired by the deity of the Moon. . . ."

Clearly these temple slaves were kept for the purpose of sacrifice to the god or, according to Frazer, they served as scape-

¹⁰¹ Cf. Tamb. p. 59 f. Sources: Eur. *Bacch.* 289 ff.; Philo, *de. spec. leg.* p. 343 M. In modern Greece direct inspiration implies insanity, cf. Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Gr. Rel.* p. 299 f.

¹⁰² XI. 4. 7. C 503, tr. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, v-vi. p. 65 (2nd ed.); cf. *ibid.* ix. p. 217 f. quoted by Frazer in connection with the passage from Strabo just mentioned.

goats.¹⁰³ The god was expected to designate his choice: this was accomplished by the simple expedient of taking possession of the man, thus rendering him sacred.

Much dispute has raged over the interpretation of a red-figured *celebe* in the Institute of Fine Arts in Chicago.¹⁰⁴ The central figure represents a man almost entirely covered with wreaths and woolen fillets. In one hand he carries an upraised sword, in the other a thunderbolt; there are greaves upon his right leg and left arm, while a broken fetter with the ring still attached encircles his left ankle. The attitude of the whole figure is expressive of a high state of excitement or madness. In Gardner's interpretation of the figure as Athamas, he refers to Herodotus¹⁰⁵ as having preserved the local legend of Halos in Phthiotis. According to this legend, Athamas was himself sacrificed.¹⁰⁶ The story of his madness forms a separate legend. If the figure in the vase-painting be indeed Athamas, the vase-painter, as suggested by Gardner, may have combined certain features of both legends. To the mind of the present writer, however, the wreaths and the fillets seem to indicate that the victim was intended for sacrifice, while the broken fetter points to his escape. A glance at the painting itself is enough to convince even the most sceptical that madness is portrayed.

Another interpretation is given by Mr. A. B. Cook.¹⁰⁷ The male figure, according to him, represents Salmoneus, he is "bearded and wreathed with olive . . . The essential features of the composition, viz., the triumphal progress of the Olympic victor and his mad imitation of Zeus, exactly fit the description of Salmoneus given by Vergil *Æn.* 6.588 ff. . . ." The fetter on the left ankle "is a part of his disguise as a would-be god." Cook's conclusion is that the fetter belongs to an older cult than that of Zeus, that is, "Cronus taken over by Zeus," and that

¹⁰³ *Golden Bough*,³ ix. 218.

¹⁰⁴ Pub. by Gardner, E., *A. J. A.*, 1899, pp. 331 ff.

¹⁰⁵ 7. 197.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *ps.* Plato. *Minos* 315 C; Schol. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 257; Suidas *s. v* 'Αθάμας; Paus. 9. 8. 2; Cook, *Zeus*, p. 415.

¹⁰⁷ *Cl. Rev.* 17 (1903) p. 276.

the vase-painter has pictured an earlier version of the tale of Salmoneus. Miss Harrison¹⁰⁸ identifies Salmoneus as an ancient weather-king, here represented in the guise of a victim.

Neither interpretation accounts fully for certain features of the painting. The present writer, however, feels that sufficient evidence has not as yet been advanced upon which to base a more positive identification. Legends in which madness played a conspicuous part were so numerous in antiquity that this composition may have been the composite expression of various legends or may have been based upon some contemporary event. In other words, it need not have been inspired wholly by any one legend. The woolen fillets may indicate sanctity or future sacrifice. The fetter points to restraint of some kind. Legend does not tell of the sacrifice of Salmoneus, although the painter may have had knowledge which has not been preserved to us. The conjecture of the present writer is that the figure represents an escaped madman destined for sacrifice possibly as a scapegoat. It should be recalled in this connection that the inspired slave referred to by Strabo was bound with a sacred chain, and kept in confinement for a year before his sacrifice.

The yearly sacrifice of two victims, a man and a woman, as scapegoats at the festival of the Thargelia is well attested. It is also known that degraded and useless beings were maintained at public expense for use as scapegoats.¹⁰⁹ Is it possible that madmen were included among these social outcasts? An answer to this question will first necessitate a brief discussion of the position of beggars.

For our earliest authentic knowledge on this subject we turn to the *Odyssey*, since the *Iliad* throws no light upon this question. In its delineation of various phases of domestic life the

¹⁰⁸ *Themis*, pp. 79 ff.; also *Proleg.* 335; Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² I. 310 f; cf. II. 181.

¹⁰⁹ Harpocrat. s. v. *φαρμακός*; Suidas s. v. *κάρθαρμα, φαρμακός*; Lys. 6. 53; *Schol. Aristoph. Knights*, 1136. Stoning of scape-goat at Abdera in Thrace, Ovid, *Ibis*, 467 ff.; discussion and list of authorities, Frazer, *Golden Bough*², IX. 254, n. 1; scape-goat at Marseilles, *ibid.* IX. 253; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV. p. 275.

former contains numerous pictures of the ragged beggar huddled on the threshold of the well-to-do¹¹⁰ or wandering through the streets begging of all whom he meets.¹¹¹ He is greeted now with blows or a shower of stones,¹¹² now with kindly help.¹¹³ As the newsmonger of the day, he obtains shelter and food; he is, in fact, a kind of animated newspaper.¹¹⁴ The life of the beggar in the Heroic Age was a wandering one, full of hardships and constant fears;¹¹⁵ for even though he was under the protection of Zeus,¹¹⁶ the ears of the god seem at times to have been closed against him. When Odysseus, in the guise of a beggar, enters his own home, the insolent maid-servant, Melantho, threatens him with a beating if he does not take himself off. In justice to Penelope, it must, however, be said that she reproves the girl and summons the beggar to give her, if he can, news of her absent lord.¹¹⁷ Perhaps even she would not have been so kindly disposed, had she not been a prey to keen anxiety. Although the disguised Odysseus is, on the whole, received in a friendly fashion by the suitors (with the exception of Antinous),¹¹⁸ still we do not carry away from the Odyssey a feeling that the wandering beggar met, at all times, with a hearty welcome.

From Hesiod comes only a single, vivid line: 'Potter vies with potter and craftsman with craftsman, beggar is jealous of beggar and bard of bard.'¹¹⁹ Contempt of vagrancy was strongly felt also in the lyric age. Tyrtæus writes of the lack

¹¹⁰ *Od.* 18 *passim*.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1-10; cf. 17. 18 ff.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 17. 278; cf. 23 ff.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 16. 272 f.

¹¹⁴ Mahaffy, J. P., *Social Life in Greece*, London, 1902, p. 47 f. "So much was the want of regular communication felt, that wandering beggars evidently attained an importance similar to that of the beggars and also of the pedlars in Scott's novels, who combined with the trade of selling goods that of carrying news, and were even at times employed as confidential messengers. These vagrants, in Homer's day, either carried or invented news, and obtained their living in reward for it." Cf. *Od.* 14. 118.

¹¹⁵ *Od.* 18. 83 ff., *ibid.* 17. 23 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 13. 213; 14. 422; 14. 58 f.

¹¹⁷ *Od.* 19. 66 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 17. 474 ff.

¹¹⁹ *Works and Days* 25 f.

of regard for a wanderer or beggar even of good blood.¹²⁰ In the fifth century Plato ¹²¹ wrote: 'Let there be no beggars in our state; and if anybody begs, seeking to pick up a livelihood by unavailing prayers, let the wardens of the agora turn him out of the agora, and the wardens of the city out of the city, and the wardens of the country send him out of any other parts of the land across the border, in order that the land may be freed from this sort of animal.' The beggar seems to have received short shrift from his fellow-men. The old story of the fine imposed upon Homer for begging his bread may be taken at its face value. It is significant, however, that Dion Chrysostom, who tells this tale, writes: 'some gave to him as to a beggar, others as to a madman.'¹²²

The above quotations would indicate that in the time of Dion Chrysostom the wandering madman and the beggar were alike objects of a rather grudging charity. For, although it is impossible to state that at any one period in the history of Greece a common attitude was maintained toward both beggar and madman, still it is probable that there grew up the tendency to class them both simply as useless members of society.

At the time when the gods were sincerely revered, the madman, as a being touched in some way by the divine, shared in the awe inspired by the supernatural. He was a being set apart from his fellows and it may be that for this very reason he was considered peculiarly acceptable as a sacrifice. In the case of Strabo's inspired slave this is certainly the explanation of his choice as a victim; for the sacrifice was not consummated until the god had taken possession of the man.

Although it is true that this Epirote custom mentioned by Strabo is the only one of its kind alluded to throughout the entire body of Greek literature, yet from this and similar instances of the sacrifice of divine men which have been

¹²⁰ Tyr. fr. 1; cf. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, p. 95 f.

¹²¹ *Laws*, XI. 936 A, tr. Jowett.

¹²² II. 312 R.

collected by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*,¹²³ the present writer feels that the evidence is sufficiently strong to warrant the conjecture that at certain periods in the history of Greece madmen, by reason of their supposed selection by the god, were at times offered in sacrifice.¹²⁴ Thus the god received his own. The red-figured *celebe* to which attention has been called perhaps represents an instance of such a sacrifice.

However, as religion slowly lost its inner content and tended toward the purely conventional, the fearful respect imposed upon the popular mind by the madman gradually weakened. In other words, the madman was stripped of his sanctity and reduced to the level of a social outcast. If, under such conditions, any sacrifice of a madman in the guise of a scapegoat did occur in ancient Greece, the reason for such a sacrifice would be due not to the fact that his madness made of him a being divinely chosen as a victim, but rather to the fact that he was a useless member of society.

In modern Greece a certain amount of religious awe is connected with madness. To meet a madman on the street is a good omen, for he is connected with the powers above.¹²⁵ This same feeling of awe, though manifested in a different way, was felt also in ancient Greece. When you meet a madman—thus Theophrastus¹²⁶ advises the superstitious man—spit in your bosom. An insane man was then, in the time of Theophrastus, a thing of evil omen, a thing to be avoided. Spitting to avert evil, or to avoid contagion was often practiced in antiquity, but particularly upon meeting an epileptic.¹²⁷ Latin Comedy

¹²³ IX. 227. "It may be suspected that the custom of employing a divine man or animal as a public scape-goat is much more widely diffused than appears from the examples cited." It cannot, however, be maintained that the scape-goat was always divine.

¹²⁴ According to Farnell the last human sacrifice was about 600 B. C. (*Cults of the Greek States*, iv. 276.) Cf. Harrison, *Proleg.* p. 110.

¹²⁵ Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and Anc. Gr. Rel.* p. 307.

¹²⁶ *Char.* 16. 33.

¹²⁷ Cf. Nicolson, *Harv. Stud.* VIII (1897) "*The Saliva Superstition*"; Becker's *Charicles*, p. 132 and note; Hartland, E. Sidney, *Legend of Perseus* (1894), II. 258 ff.

contains many such instances. Thus in the *Captivi* of Plautus, Aristophontes inquires angrily if Hegio supposes him to be afflicted with the disease which must be spit upon. Hegio, however, assures him that spitting has often proved beneficial.¹²⁸ A different application of the spit superstition is shown by the fact that one did not always spit upon the unfortunate person, but into one's own bosom.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ 547 ff.

¹²⁹ So Theophrastus advises the superstitious man. Cf. note 126.

CHAPTER IV

MADNESS IN RELATION TO SOCIETY

Ancient Greece seems to have felt none of the modern horror of insanity, nor was there, apparently, any great effort made to conceal the affliction from the public. When material benefit was to be derived therefrom, the son of the house did not hesitate to make known his father's madness.¹³⁰ Rome may have made special provision for her pauper insane,¹³¹ but there is no evidence to show that Greece ever bestirred herself in this direction.¹³² The madman became, in fact, almost a public plaything. He was followed by the children or the street loafers,¹³³ ridiculed, abused, and often pelted with stones.

In the *Birds* of Aristophanes¹³⁴ the following lines occur:

ὥσπερ δ' ἤδη τοὺς μαινομένους
βάλλουσ' ὑμᾶς

in explanation of which the scholiast adds τοῖς λίθοις. In the *Wasps*¹³⁵ an amusing scene takes place between Philocleon and Xanthias in which the old dicast bounds out upon the stage skipping and dancing.

Phil. Who sits, who waits at the entrance gates?

Xanth. More and more is this evil advancing!

Phil. Be the bolts undone, we have just begun;

¹³⁰ See ch. 6, *δίκη παραβολας*.

¹³¹ Cf. Semelaigne; *Études Hist. sur. l'Alién. Men. dans. l'Ant.* pp. 218 ff. This is a conjecture on Semelaigne's part.

¹³² This want of evidence may be due, however, merely to a deficiency in the extant literature. There is also no proof that Greece ever maintained hospitals for the insane. Thomée's conclusion agrees with the result of the present investigation. The insane, as is well known, were sent to Anticyra for hellebore treatment. It may, therefore, be conjectured that some provision was made for their care; yet, so far as the present study is concerned, no confirmatory evidence has been found to support such a supposition; cf. Thomée, *Historia Insanorum apud Graecos*, p. 110.

¹³³ Artem. *Onir.* 3. 42; Dion. Chrys. 35. 65 R.

¹³⁴ 524 f.

¹³⁵ 1482 ff.

This, this is the first evolution of dancing.

Xanth. First evolution of madness, I think.

Phil. With the strong contortion the ribs twist round,
And the nostril snorts, and the joints resound,
And the tendons crack. *Xanth.* O, hellebore drink! ^{135a}

Phil. Cocklike, Phrynichus crouches and cowers,

Xanth. You'll strike by and by.

Phil. Then he kicks his leg to the wondering sky,

Xanth. O look to yourself, look out, look out.

Phil. For now in these sinewy joints of ours
The cup-like socket is twirled about. ¹³⁶

In the Greek text the verb rendered by Rogers as "You'll strike" is *βαλλήσεις*, instead of which Scholiast *R* read *βαλλήσει*, explaining by *ἀντὶ τοῦ βληθήσῃ*. To this Starkie, ¹³⁷ on the analogy of the passage just quoted from the *Birds*, adds *λίθοις διὰ μανίαν*. In Dion Chrysostom ¹³⁸ we read: 'if anyone follows you alleging himself to be a disciple, drive him away by striking him and hurling clods and stones at him.' This reference to the custom of driving away by stoning ¹³⁹ any importunate or annoying person makes Starkie's suggestion a reasonable one. Thus if a madman made himself a nuisance he was driven away with stones in much the same way as the dogs of Eumæus had to be stoned off from the disguised Odysseus. ¹⁴⁰

The children, then, who followed upon the heels of Artemidorus' madman probably pelted him with stones. That they also ridiculed and mocked him is quite possible and seems well substantiated by the story of a certain Carabbas, ¹⁴¹ apparently

^{135a} The use of hellebore as a cure for madness has been discussed by Thomée, p. 92 f.

¹³⁶ Tr. Rogers.

¹³⁷ The *Wasps* of Aristophanes, London, 1897, p. 384.

¹³⁸ 35. 66 R.

¹³⁹ On stoning in antiquity, see Hirzel, *die Strafe der Steinigung*, *Abhand. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., phil. hist. kl.*, vol. 27. pp. 225 ff.; cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, 272, "Stoning in old days was more likely to have been a religious than a secular mode of execution."

¹⁴⁰ *Od.* 14. 35 f.

¹⁴¹ Philo Jud., *Against Flaccus* 6; cf. Bar-Hebraeus, *The Laughable Stories* (tr. Budge), p. 160, "To another lunatic, round whom a large number of boys were gathered together, it was said, 'Go and lie down in a

a harmless maniac. He appears to have spent his time wandering naked in the woods, 'the sport of idle children and wanton youths.' The remainder of the account resembles a garbled version of the treatment of the Christ; for the poor wretch was driven as far as the gymnasium, clothed in the travesty of royalty and made the centre of a mock court. Upon hearing the uproar and the shouts, Flaccus, the governor, hastened to the scene; but, in place of putting a stop to the pastime, he allowed it to continue. Philo Judæus, by whom the story is told, appears justly indignant at the laxity of the Roman governor, but he is indignant not because of the lack of compassion for the madman on the part of his tormentors, but because the spectacle was in mockery of the emperor. Doubtless a Greek would argue that the lunatic was not being harmed, he was affording amusement to the crowd: he was a public plaything, a common in place of a court fool. The children could take as much delight in running after a madman and pelting him with stones, as the proverbial small boy does in chasing a dog with a tin can tied to its tail.

To ridicule the madman seems to have been an amusement even for the men of Athens. Euthyphro complains to Socrates that whenever he attempts to speak in the ecclesia concerning divine things *κατεγελῶσιν ὡς μαινομένον*.¹⁴² In other words, Euthyphro meets with the same reception from his audience as if a madman were to appear before them and begin to speak.

It must not be understood, however, that madmen were always followed on the street and ridiculed.¹⁴³ The treatment

certain place so that these boys may go away from thee,' and he replied, 'When they are hungry they will depart.'"

¹⁴² Plat. *Euthyph.*, 3C, *μαινομένον* is perhaps used here in a colloquial sense, cf. p. 00; see also Dion Chrys. 72, 385R; *ibid.*, 9. 290R; Phædrus, 3. *Fab.* 14; Priscian *Hist.* p. 205C (vol. 14 Corp. Byz. Hist.).

¹⁴³ Compassion for the madman appears in later literature, cf. Georg. Mon. II. 544M. II. 11 ff., 'For those who are mad and frenzied harm themselves in many ways and do pitiful things, for which others weep for them, while they themselves laugh and revel in their condition. Phil. Jud. *De Plant. Noe*, 36, 'Madness is death, since the noblest thing in us dies.' Lucian, *The Disinh.* 6 (Jacobitz ed.). Too much dependence cannot, however, be placed upon Lucian's statement.

of the insane would vary according to circumstances. Toward the violently insane a lively fear was often felt.¹⁴⁴

Aretæus classified madness according to the presence of joy or anger as manifested in the actions of the afflicted ones. To the first class belong the light-hearted madmen who dance and sing in the market-place; to the second class those who become angry and often kill their keepers.¹⁴⁵ The latter class, it is clear, would not afford amusement to the populace, but would be feared in proportion to the possibility of physical injury. In Plato we find the following passage: 'But how could we live in safety with so many crazy people? Should we not long since have paid the penalty at their hands, and have been struck and beaten and endured every other form of ill-usage which madmen are wont to inflict?'¹⁴⁶ In this connection, the stories told of Cleomenes, Cambyses, and Antiochus might be quoted, but there would be no particular gain for the point in question.

Artemidorus says that madmen were ἀκόλυτοι.¹⁴⁷ From Aretæus we learn of madmen who go openly to the market-place. Ælian causes one of his characters to say: 'I am mad and I kill and hate the human race. Wherefore I strike the passersby with clods and stones.'¹⁴⁸ Cambyses wreaked vengeance on all who ventured near him.¹⁴⁹ Cleomenes kept everyone in a state

¹⁴⁴ Cf. the vivid picture of a madman given in Galen, *De cognos. curand. an. mor.* v. p. 22. Many passages in both Greek and Latin literature bear witness to fear felt in the presence of the violently insane; cf. Menander, *Epit.* 475 ff.; Plaut. *Men.* 821 ff.; *ibid.*, *Cas.* 662 ff.; Soph. *Ajax* 68 ff., also 88 ff.; Luc. *Disinh.* 14 (Jacobitz ed.).

¹⁴⁵ I. 6.

¹⁴⁶ Plat. *Alc.* II. 139D.

¹⁴⁷ *Onir.* 3. 42; cf. Aret. I. 6, harmless madmen are unrestrained.

¹⁴⁸ *Ep.* 14; the language is, of course, metaphorical, but may well represent the actions of a dangerous madman; cf. Gospel of St. Mark 5. 1-6, man with unclean spirit gashes himself with stones. Bar-Hebraeus, *The Laughable Stories* (tr. Budge), p. 157, "Another demoniac, having laid hold upon a man, threw him down under him and was choking him, when certain folk came and rescued the man from him. And when they were beating him they asked him why he did this, and he said, 'If he did not wish to be choked why did he fall under me? And he did not suffer for a moment in my hands.'"

¹⁴⁹ Herod. III. 30-38.

of constant panic for fear of his next mad fancy.¹⁵⁰ Do we read of any attempt to introduce the royal madman to improvised strait-jackets? The classification of madmen made by Aretæus should be recalled in this connection: some go openly to the market-place, others rend their clothes and kill their keepers. This points clearly to restraint of violent maniacs; nevertheless, there is no evidence to show that Greece maintained any asylums for the care of her insane. Thomée's investigation on this point needs no further elaboration. In the absence, then, of public institutions for the purpose, what was done with the more dangerous insane?

Plato advocated keeping madmen at home by any possible means.¹⁵¹ It is probable that there were two methods of restraining the insane. In the first place, a madman was either confined in his own home or possibly he was placed in the care of a personal attendant who was responsible for his conduct. For this latter supposition we have only the support of the analogous Roman custom.¹⁵² In the second place, when there was danger of the madman doing injury to himself or to those associated with him, he was not only confined to his home, but he was bound fast as well.

One of the earliest legends referring to the confinement of a mad person may be found in certain accounts of the treatment accorded Cassandra at the time when the wooden horse entered the city of Troy. In the *Alexandra* of Lycophron¹⁵³ the 'obscure,' the mad prophetess bewails her imprisonment thus:

' But I, who fled the bridal yoke, who count
The tedious moments, closed in dungeon walls
Dark and o'er-canopied with massy stone.'¹⁵⁴

The version given by Tzetzes¹⁵⁵ states that when Cassandra saw the wooden horse being dragged in by the Trojans, she shouted to them to break it open, or burn it, but not to bring it

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* vi. 75.

¹⁵¹ *Laws*, II, 934 C-D.

¹⁵² Semelaigne, *Études Hist. sur l'Alién. Men. dans l'Ant.* p. 220.

¹⁵³ 348 ff.; note p. 33 Scheer's ed.; schol. on. 16.

¹⁵⁴ Tr. Banks.

¹⁵⁵ P. 61. ll. 708 ff.

into the city. Because of her repeated cries, her father shut her into a tower, οἰά τε μαινομένην. Tryphiodorus,¹⁵⁶ in the *Sack of Ilios*, relates the story of Cassandra's imprisonment, but adds that she broke the lock and rushed out to warn the Trojans. Holzinger,¹⁵⁷ in his comments, thinks that Cassandra was imprisoned "damit sie die Troer nicht beunruhige und weil man sie für wahnsinnig heilt." It has been thought that Lycophron, who apparently is the oldest authority for this legend, took his material from the end of the *Little Iliad*, or perhaps from the beginning of the *Sack of Ilios* of Arktinos,¹⁵⁸ in which the entrance of the wooden horse was described. There may perhaps have been in existence two legends of the imprisonment, one in which Cassandra broke loose at the moment when the horse was brought into the city, while in the other she was placed in confinement on the day of the fall of Troy. Tryphiodorus, then, may have combined these legends.¹⁵⁹ It must, however, be borne in mind, that in any case the reason for the imprisonment was two-fold: Cassandra was not only mad, but she disturbed the Trojans. If she had been harmless, she would probably have been allowed her liberty.

In the red-figured *celebe*¹⁶⁰ previously described, attention has been called to the fetter hanging from the left ankle of the male figure. Gardner has explained this on the ground that the man was bound for sacrifice.¹⁶¹ May it not be due to the painter's desire to represent in a realistic fashion the restraint of a madman?

Philocleon in the *Wasps*¹⁶² of Aristophanes is mad in an exceedingly strange way, he is φιληλιαστής,¹⁶³ but finally when he becomes a nuisance to his worthy son, he is barred and bolted within doors. The old man, however, with all the cunning of a madman, manages to slip out; even the chinks, crannies, and water-drains are made to serve his purpose. The

¹⁵⁶ 350.

¹⁵⁷ Lyc. *Alex.* 349, note.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ P. 31.

¹⁶¹ Gardner, *A. J. A.*, 1899, p. 334.

¹⁶² 112 f.

¹⁶³ Literally translated, 'one who delights in trials.' In other words, Philocleon is 'jury-mad.'

actual means of restraint appear in *μοχλοῖσιν ἐνδήσαντες*, i. e., Philocleon is tied fast and the doors are bolted. In addition, slaves are set to watch him. Even after discounting the comic element, the picture presented by Aristophanes must contain a basis of truth.¹⁶⁴

One of the best known, perhaps, of legendary madmen is Heracles. After his wild orgy of slaughter was over and he had begun to look about for new victims, Athena suddenly descended and felled him to the ground. As he lay in a stupor the terrified witnesses of his frenzy ventured to approach and bind him fast to the pillars of his house.¹⁶⁵

In the *Captivi*,¹⁶⁶ Tyndareus bends all his energies to persuading Hegio that Aristophanes is mad. Aristophanes is a dangerous maniac, he says, he cut his father and mother all to pieces over in Elis, Hegio really must have him seized:

*Ardent oculi; fure opus,*¹⁶⁷ *Hegio,*
Viden tu illi maculari corpus totum maculis luridis
Atra bilis agitat hominem.

Herodotus¹⁶⁸ writes that the mad Cleomenes was imprisoned in stocks, if *ἐν ξύλῳ* may be so interpreted. The lunatic became so violent that he struck with his staff all whom he met, until finally his relatives laid hands upon his royal person. The authenticity of this story is disputed, but since we have no means either of proving or disproving it, we are forced to take it for what it is worth.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. the advice given by Paul. *Æg.* III. 14, p. 385: 'But, above all things, they must be secured in bed, so that they may not be able to injure themselves, or those who approach them; or swung within a wicker basket in a small couch suspended from on high.' tr. Adams. Asclepiades, according to Cælius Aurelianus, is said to have advocated chains, cf. Tuke, *Dict. of Psych. Med.* Introd. vol. I. p. 14. Not until 1837 were such means of restraint formally abolished in England. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁶⁵ *Eur. Her. Fur.* 1009 ff., 1089 ff. The frenzy of Heracles is well depicted on a vase of South Italian manufacture. The madman is represented in the act of hurling a child into a fire composed of the family furniture. The painter has followed Pherecydes. See Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, I. p. 324; *Mon. dell'Inst.* 8. 10; *Wiener Vorlegebl.* I (1880).

¹⁶⁶ 94 ff. cf. Plaut. *Men.* 844 ff.

¹⁶⁷ Reading of FZ; *fit opus* BEJ. The sense of the passage is clear, cf. I. 593 *nisi illunc iubes Conprehendi*.

¹⁶⁸ VI. 75, cf. account of punishment of Hegesistratos, *ibid.* IX. 37.

In the story of the loves of Cleitopho and Leucippe,¹⁶⁹ the latter is suddenly seized with a violent attack of frenzy, during which she foamed at the mouth, tore her clothes, and would have done violence to her person, if she had not been securely bound and kept so until she recovered consciousness. Naturally Achilles Tatius makes as much out of the incident as possible, so we read of the sorrowful lover who sits by the side of his securely bound beloved and mourns over her sad condition. In the midst of his romance, the writer can not refrain from displaying his medical knowledge.¹⁷⁰

This evidence shows that although no organized effort toward the restraint of the insane was made by the state, there was a recognized method of dealing individually with the more violent cases. If such a law as Plato proposed had ever been passed and observed, its effect would have been felt only in the case of the violently insane.

There is also some evidence concerning whipping or beating employed as a means of subduing the insane. So far as the writer has been able to discover, so barbarous a procedure is not mentioned in the writings of the Greek physicians. By at least two of the Roman physicians, however, the use of stripes is advocated.¹⁷¹ It must be remembered that from the point of view of the Greeks, a beating would be administered not so much to punish the unruly one, as to drive the evil out of him.¹⁷² In Hippocrates there is no mention of such corporal

¹⁶⁹ Ach. Tat. 4. 9.

¹⁷⁰ For further evidence concerning the binding or confinement of the insane, cf. Eur. *Ion*. 1402 f.; *ibid.* *Bacch.* 226 f.; 443 f.; Soph. *Ant.* 937; Xen. *Mem.* I, 2. 50; Dioscorides, *On Poisons*, II. 20; Palæph. 42 (43), p. 63; Phil. Jud. *Against Flaccus*, 6. p. 53; Apul. *Ap.* 52. II. 5 ff.; *ibid.* 75. p. 84. l. 16; Gospel of St. Mark. 5. 1 ff.; and an amusing story related by Bar-Hebraeus (tr. Budge), p. 156, " 'Another demoniac said, 'I went into a hospital and saw a demoniac who was in fetters, and I thrust out my tongue at him and rolled mine eyes. And when he saw me do this he looked up to heaven and said 'Glory be to thee, O God, for one whom the physicians have left free, and for one whom they have bound.' "

¹⁷¹ Celsus, III. 18, p. 164 (Haller); Tuke, *Dict. of Psych. Med.* vol. I. Introd. p. 14, states that Titus, a pupil of Asclepiades also recommended stripes.

¹⁷² Notice the survival of this idea in the school-boy phrase, "I'll beat

punishment, but from the general character of the treatise on the *Sacred Disease*, and from the sanity of his thought, it may safely be inferred that if whipping had been employed in Greece either before or during his time, the practice would have called forth a severe condemnation.

The views of Galen¹⁷³ may be judged from his account of a scene witnessed in childhood. He had observed a man who, in a violent fit of anger, kicked and bit a door. The deep impression thus made gave rise later to a discussion of the close connection between madness and anger, a connection often recognized by the Greeks. As an illustration, Galen cites the case of a certain Adrianus who made use of the sharp edge of his sword to beat a slave. Later, ashamed of his lack of self-control, he gave himself into the hands of Galen, requesting that he should be whipped. The physician, however, advised him to apply the lash of reason to his own understanding.

In strong contrast to the advice of Galen was that of the Roman physicians, Titus and Celsus, both of whom advocated stripes. Cælius Aurelianus, on the other hand, forbade all corporal punishment of the insane. In this he was probably followed by Paulus Ægineta.¹⁷⁴

The objections, therefore, to corporal punishment of the insane, as a means of reducing them to subjection, brought forward by Cælius Aurelianus proves that the practice existed in Rome and it is probable that at a later period it was adopted in Greece. This conjecture is supported by a passage in the writings of the Emperor Julian.¹⁷⁵

the very mischief out of you." Miss Harrison, *Proleg.* p. 52, calls attention to a like expression among peasant women.

¹⁷³ Vol. 5, *De prop. an. cuius. aff. dig. et cur.* ch. 4. pp. 16 ff.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Thomée, *Hist. Insan. apud Graec.* p. 99; Paul. *Æg.* III. 14, makes no mention of corporal punishment, Adams. *Com. Paul. Æg.* Bk. III. 14. vol. I. p. 388.

¹⁷⁵ *Ep.* 42. 424 B; cf. Bar-Hebræus, *The Laughable Stories* (tr. Budge), p. 161, "When another lunatic was fettered in the hospital, he that filled the drinking cup came to him and said, 'Take, drink, and if thou dost not do so I will beat thee with this whip.' And the lunatic replied, 'Give it to me and I will drink, although I know well that thou thyself needest to drink it more than I do.'"

CHAPTER V

POPULAR BELIEFS CONCERNING THE CURE OF MADNESS

It is well known that among all peoples, whatever their state of civilization, numbers of so-called cures are firmly established in the popular belief. Such ideas persist even now in many communities, in spite of the efforts of physicians to dislodge them. So also in antiquity they were doubtless frowned upon by those whom Hippocrates would have classed as quacks.¹⁷⁶ Since in primitive days the causes of diseases were not understood, it is natural that the cures which were believed most efficacious should be, perhaps, somewhat ludicrous to the modern mind, but it must be remembered that such cures represent a real endeavor to benefit the sufferer. It is also to be expected that the greater the dread and fear connected with a certain disease, the more numerous are both preventive and curative efforts. Thus among the Greeks the majority of the popular cures for diseases were directed against that most dreaded of all forms of madness, the *sacred disease*.

"The maxim," writes Tylor,¹⁷⁷ " ' a hair of the dog that bit you ' was originally neither a metaphor nor a joke, but a matter-of-fact recipe for curing the bite of a dog, one of the many instances of the ancient homeopathic doctrine, that what hurts will also cure: it is mentioned in the Scandinavian Edda, ' Dog's hair heals dog's bite.' "¹⁷⁸ This is the underlying principle in the case of popular cures for madness. In the second chapter of this study belief in the power of the gods to cause madness was discussed. Of like character is the belief in the ability of the gods to remove the calamity which they have themselves inflicted.

¹⁷⁶ *On the Sacred Disease*, 1, vol. 6 (Littré), p. 354, l. 13 f.

¹⁷⁷ *Prim. Cult.* I, 84.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. story of wounding and curing of Telephus, Starkie's ed. *Achæniens*, *Excursus* VI, esp. *Fr.* 727 N² of *Eur. Tel.*

Cures for madness are attributed in legend to Zeus,¹⁷⁹ Hera,¹⁸⁰ Artemis,¹⁸¹ Apollo,¹⁸² Athena,¹⁸³ Cybele,¹⁸⁴ and the Corybantes.¹⁸⁵ To the list must also be added Medea;¹⁸⁶ for true to the principle involved, since she was credited with having caused madness, she must be connected in some way with its cure. A comparison of this list of names with the one in the second chapter will show a marked similarity. Theoretically, the god who sends madness should, after having been placated by due rites, withdraw his anger, but the Greek took into account the fickleness of his gods. Thus Hera sends madness upon Io,¹⁸⁷ but the cure is brought about by Zeus.

Since Tambornino¹⁸⁸ has dealt adequately with the various cures by purification, propitiatory rites and participation in the mysteries of Hecate at Ægina, of Sabazius, Cybele, and

¹⁷⁹Io is not only made pregnant by the touch of Zeus, but is also cured of her madness by the same means; cf. Æsch. *Prom. Bound* 848f. For the touch superstition, see Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. I. ch. 4 f.; cf. also Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, pp. 19 ff. Lucian, *dial. mar.* 7, ascribes the cure of Io to Hermes.

¹⁸⁰Through the intercession of Artemis, Hera cured the Proetides, cf. Bacchyl. 10. 107 f. The madness of the Proetides is sometimes ascribed to Hera, cf. note 48.

¹⁸¹Paus. VIII. 18. 8.

¹⁸²Orestes is purified by Apollo at Delphi, Æsch., *Ochoeph.* 1021 ff.; Apollod. *ep.* 6. 26 (Wagner). For the omphalos theory, Harrison, *Themis*, p. 399; criticized by Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iv. 302 ff., note c. For a thorough treatment of the madness of Orestes, see Harries, *Trag. Gr. qua arte usi sint in descr. insan.* pp. 30 ff.

¹⁸³Cure of Ajax ascribed to Athena by Quint. Smyr. v, 451. Athena, it will be remembered, was responsible for the madness of Ajax. Heracles is cured by the hurling of a stone from Athena's hand, Eur. *Her. Fur.* 1003 f. The significance of the stone itself will be considered later.

¹⁸⁴Dionysus is cured by Cybele, Apollod. III. 33 (Wagner); Julian I. 7. 220c.

¹⁸⁵Discussed by Tambornino, p. 76; cures were effected through the rites of Corybantes—sources used by Tamb. are *Hymn. Orphic.* 39. 1; Hesych. s. v. *κоруβαντιουβς, κάθαρσις, μανίας*; Aristoph. *Wasps*, 8; Plato, *Ion*, 533 E-534A. Aristoph. *Wasps*, 119.

¹⁸⁶Healing of Heracles attributed to Medea by Diod. Sic. iv. 55. 4. For other versions cf. Eur. *Her. Fur.* 1035; Hippoc. *Ep.* 16. p. 346 (Littre's ed.).

¹⁸⁷Æsch. *Prom. Bound*, 592; 704.

¹⁸⁸Pp. 75 ff. The use of magic and incantations is discussed by Tambornino.

the Corybantes, it is unnecessary for the present writer to discuss them further in this dissertation. The remaining cures fall into the following division:

1. Animal substances.
2. Plants.
3. Cathartic stones.
4. Whipping.
5. Music and motion.
6. Miscellaneous beliefs.

As previously stated, nearly all the popular cures for madness deal with epilepsy. This holds true for all the types of cures listed, with the exception of music which was rarely, if ever, directed against this disease. Most of the following animal substances are mentioned as cures in the works of Dioscorides¹⁸⁹ and may, therefore, be considered quasi-medical:

1. *Animal substances.*

(a) The liver of a vulture, cooked in blood and administered in honey. To be taken for three weeks.¹⁹⁰

(b) Dry the heart of a vulture and take in water.

(c) Rub the glands of the neck with the blood of a weasel.

(d) Boil the weasel. Eat all except the feet and head.

(e) Drink the liver of a weasel dissolved in water.¹⁹¹

(f) A cake made of seal's flesh and tetter from a horse.

(g) Drink the blood of an amphibious tortoise.

(h) Burn the hoof of an ass.¹⁹² Amount, two spoonfuls.

(i) Put the gall of a sea tortoise up the nostrils.

2. Various plants were considered highly efficacious in the cure of madness or epilepsy. Among these are the following:

(a) *Vitex agnus castus* softened in vinegar and olive oil.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ *De Simplicibus* 18. The following lists are not intended to be complete.

¹⁹⁰ Lydus, *De Mens.* IV, p. 96, 65.

¹⁹¹ Dioscorides does not say that the liver is actually dissolved: τὸ ἥπαρ δὲ αὐτῆς μεθ' ὕδατος πινόμενον ὠφελεῖ.

¹⁹² The ashes were probably mixed with water or honey, then given to the sufferer.

¹⁹³ Diosc. *De Mat. Med.* I. 134 (135), (περὶ "Αγνου).

(b) The roots and seeds of the horse-fennel (ἵππομάραθρον) in water.¹⁹⁴

(c) Roots of the bryony (βρῦνῶνη) in water and honey.¹⁹⁵

(d) Anthyllis (*cressa Cretica*), the variety growing on the ground.¹⁹⁶

(e) Gum ammoniac¹⁹⁷ (Ἀμμωνιακόν).

(f) Rosemary.¹⁹⁸ (λίβανωτις).

(g) Leaves of the black poplar.¹⁹⁹ (αἴγλειρος).

(h) Aglaophotis.²⁰⁰

(i) The flower of the wild violet.²⁰¹ (ἶον ἀγρίου ἄνθος).

3. Cathartic stones.

That there was a tendency on the part of epileptics to conceal their affliction is clear not only from a statement of Hippocrates,²⁰² but also from various beliefs connected with certain cathartic stones. When epileptics feel the symptoms of an approaching attack, they run away and hide themselves. This, writes Hippocrates, is due not to fear of the divinity, as many suppose, but to shame of the disease. A mediæval tale²⁰³ runs that a certain Moamethus was so afflicted, and, wishing to conceal his malady, he said that he saw the angel Gabriel and fell down from inability to endure the sight. There is also some evidence to show that epilepsy was believed to be contagious.²⁰⁴ At any rate, efforts were made to detect the presence of the disease in those who were attempting to conceal their affliction and it is in connection with those efforts that various stones were employed.

It was believed that the odor of burning jet²⁰⁵ would cause

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* *De Simpl.* 17.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* *De Mat. Med.* 3. 143 (153).

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 3. 79 (87).

²⁰⁰ *Æl. H. A.* 14. 27; discussed by Randolph, *The Mandragora of the Ancients in Folk-lore and Medicine*, *Proceed. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 40, pp. 485 ff.

²⁰¹ *Diosc. De Simpl.* 18.

²⁰³ *Mich. Glyc. Ann.* Part iv. p. 514. ll. 5 ff.

²⁰⁴ *Apul. Ap.* 44.

²⁰⁵ *Orph. Lith.* 474 ff.; Damig. p. 179, 20; *Diosc. De Simpl.* 21; Tamb. p. 83 states that the *gagates* stone has the power to drive forth the possessing demon.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 3. 88 (98).

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid. De Mat. Med.* i. 110 (113).

²⁰² *The Sacred Disease.* 12.

an epileptic to fall to the ground. The stone is described as the color of ashes, in size small and broad. When burned its odor was similar to that of bitumen. If the suspected person fell down, thus proving himself unable to endure the odor of the burning stone applied to his nostrils, he was clearly an epileptic. Buyers of slaves are advised to test their proposed purchases by this method.²⁰⁶

Another preparation of like character called for a combination of bitumen, jet, and the horn of a she-goat, all of which must be burned together.²⁰⁷ The method is the same as that previously described. One would imagine that even the senses of a sane person would give way under such a test.

The liver of a she-goat cooked and eaten provided another means of detecting the presence of epilepsy.²⁰⁸ The exact effect of this test is not stated. In most of these tests odor seems to play an important part, "Plants with strong smells, and plants the eating of which is purgative, are naturally regarded as 'good medicine,' as expulsive of evil, and hence in a secondary way as promotive of good."²⁰⁹ The same deduction was probably made regarding the odor from burning jet.

Prevalent in folk-lore is the belief in the prophylactic and curative effects of amulets.²¹⁰ The substance employed for the amulet as well as the manner of its wearing vary in accordance with the desired result. For certain purposes the amulet must be worn around the neck; for others around the wrist, while in some cases it is carried in the pocket. The American negro at times wears a leather band around his wrist, he will tell you that it is to make him strong, and his example is followed by

²⁰⁶ Damig. p. 179. 20.

²⁰⁷ Diosc. *De Simpl.* 21; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough* ix. 112. Evil Spirits in the Kei Islands must be appeased "by an offering or burn the scrapings of a buffalo's horn or the hair of a Papuan slave, in order that the smell may drive the foul fiends away."

²⁰⁸ Diosc. *De Simpl.* 21.

²⁰⁹ Harrison, *Proleg.* p. 100.

²¹⁰ Tambornino, p. 86, mentions a number of substances which were used as amulets, all of which were efficacious in keeping off the demons; cf. also p. 80. His principal source is the magical papyri. For full discussion, see Pauly-Wissow, *Amulett*.

many a small boy. To carry a stone in one's pocket is a well-known preventive of rheumatism, while unheard-of good luck will result from the carrying of a rabbit's foot. "The Saxons of the Seven Cities . . . hold that a silken band out of a grave is a protection against epilepsy."²¹¹ Instances of a like character might be multiplied endlessly, but the purpose in all such cases is the same. In antiquity, no doubt was felt concerning the efficacy of the amulet wearing. Directions for the proper substance to be employed, and the correct method of procedure were given in great detail. It is noteworthy that in all these directions for the wearing of amulets against epilepsy, care is taken to specify the left arm or the neck.

Numerous statements are made by both Greek and Roman writers concerning the virtue of the *Lapis Chelidonium* (red variety). The following example is taken from the works of Dioscorides²¹² who advises as a measure against epilepsy that one secure a sparrow fledgling of the first blood. Open its crop and extract therefrom the two small stones which it contains. These stones are then to be wrapped in calf or deer skin and hung about the neck. Especial care must be taken not to allow them to touch the ground. It is also necessary that these stones be secured at the time of the full moon. The latter provision is found in all the directions for the securing of the *Lapis Chelidonium*. Apparently the moon has some connection, probably magical, with the cure of epilepsy.

When madness was caused by the drinking of certain wines, the *Lapis Topazontes* hung about the neck as an amulet was believed to be of curative value.²¹³

The *Lapis Chrysolithus* is described as compact, translucent, and as its name indicates, like gold. Pierced through with the

²¹¹ Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. II. p. 164; cf. p. 165 "A prescription in Middle Silesia against epilepsy and against toothache is a ring smithied from a coffin-nail found in a grave" (Source, Baumgart. in iv. Zeitschr. des Vereins. für Volkskunde. 83.

²¹² *De Simpl.* 19; cf. Cass. Felix. *ad epilepsiam* 71. p. 172 (Rose); Damig. p. 171. 10.

²¹³ Orph. Lith. p. 143. ll. 2 ff.; Damig. p. 185, 29.

bristles of an ass and tied fast to the left arm, it is efficacious against demonic beings.²¹⁴

Among other substances which were used for amulets may be mentioned the *herba peonia*. This should be hung around the neck of a madman.²¹⁵

The prophylactic and curative powers of these substances depended on the sufferer's wearing them on his person; in other words, there must be actual contact between the thing healing and the person to be healed. Hartland²¹⁶ noted a practice among the Jews of Galicia which is a modern illustration of cure by contact. ". . . a black hen is rent in pieces over the sick man; or a cock is slaughtered and buried, its head having been first cut off on the threshold of a barn; with the decay of its flesh the epileptic recovers health." Hartland points out that "the black hen . . . could not be torn to pieces without its blood falling on the patient and so bringing it into union with the disease." The killing of the cock illustrates another type of cure in which physical contact was unnecessary.

Cathartic stones seem to have been used for certain ritualistic purposes. Upon this point Farnell²¹⁷ writes as follows:

"It appears also that in the cathartic ritual of Greece the efficacy of certain sacred stones was occasionally recognized. Orestes sat on the stone of Zeus 'Kappotas' and was cured of his madness: as a parallel to this story we may quote the statement in Pausanias about the *λθος σωφρονιστήρ*, the 'sobering stone' at Thebes, which in local legend was said to have received this name because Athena flung it at the mad Heracles to heal him, but which had evidently been used in some ritual of purification from the 'miasma' of madness; for madness in Greek legend is the curse that the dark powers send upon the shedder of blood. In another Troezenian legend, we hear of the purifiers of Orestes sitting on the sacred stone outside the temple of Artemis *Aukela*. Finally a theory

²¹⁴ Damig. p. 194, 47; cf. *ibid.* p. 187. 32. *Daphnea lapis*, also Lyd. *De Mens.* iv. p. 54. 4. The *Daphnea lapis* is not mentioned by Tambornino. The peculiar power of the laurel, as noted by Lydus, is referred to by Tambornino, p. 85.

²¹⁵ Tambornino, p. 85. This was a remedy in use during the Middle Ages.

²¹⁶ *Legend of Perseus*, vol. 2. p. 161; source, Schiffer, in iv. *Am. Urquell*, 273.

²¹⁷ *Cults of the Greek States*, iv. p. 302f. Farnell calls attention to an Irish parallel cited by Miss Harrison 'Delphica,' *Hell. Journ.* 1899, p. 237.

recently put forth concerning the Delphic omphalos is noticeable in connection with these facts: that the omphalos was a sacred stone fashioned to indicate the grave-mound of the earth-spirit, and that the suppliant who sat or knelt upon it, as Orestes does in a vase-representation in the British Museum, was availing himself of its cathartic virtue. Such an act would denote that the person was putting himself into communion with the chthonian divinities; but it is probable that the 'omphalos' had lost this significance before the Orestes-story concerned Delphi, and had become a mere symbol of Apollo's power. However, the primary legends about these miraculous cathartic stones seem to belong to another stratum of religion than the Apolline."

The part played by these sacred stones in the healing of Orestes and Heracles is fundamentally the same as the principle involved in the use of stones as amulets: contact with the healing property. To quote Miss Harrison's term, these stones were 'good medicine,' and must have possessed expulsive virtues. The madness would be thought, perhaps, to pass into the stones. The felling of Heracles to the ground must belong to the Theban legend in which the tale of the 'sobering stone' is found: but was probably a later development from the earlier account in which he was healed of his madness by the use of a cathartic stone.

The healing qualities of these sacred stones were possessed in a lesser degree by certain non-sacred stones. A stone said to be found in Samos was useful in curing madness. The λίθος τοπάζιος²¹⁸ powdered and given in water possessed the same power. Scrapings from the λίθος σεληνίτης²¹⁹ were a remedy for attacks of epilepsy, and the λίθος ἄσσοις²²⁰ was especially recommended for children so afflicted.

4. Whipping.

Whipping is often employed by primitive people not only to expel the evil, but also to induce the good.²²¹ Frazer has collected many examples of this practice and has, in the

²¹⁸ Cf. note 207.

²¹⁹ Diosc. *De Simpl.* 18.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ Cf. Harrison, *Proleg.* p. 52. tr. Herondas, *Mime*, 3. Advice given by a boy's mother to the school-master:

'Thrash him upon his shoulders till his spirit,
Bad thing, is left just hovering on his lips.'

majority of the cases, explained satisfactorily the significance of the custom. Used as a cure for madness, the only explanation to be offered is that it is a means of expelling the evil spirit which has taken possession of the sufferer. "In some of the East Indian islands they think that epilepsy can be cured by striking the patient on the face with the leaves of certain trees and then throwing them away. The disease is believed to have passed into the leaves and to have been thrown away with them."²²² The original purpose was probably to put to flight the demon of the disease, who may have been thought to cling to the leaves.

A somewhat similar custom has been noted among other peoples. For example, "some of the Dravidian tribes of Northern India, who attribute epilepsy, hysteria, and similar maladies to demoniacal possession, endeavor to cure the sufferer by thrashing him soundly with a sacred iron chain, which is believed to have the effect of immediately expelling the demon."²²³

Although whipping as a means of reducing the insane to subjection may have existed at a late period in Greece, it is worthy of note that throughout Greek literature we have no direct evidence for the practice of whipping as a cure for madness. The custom may, however, have been in use, since whipping as a part of certain rites was well known. The only instance in which there is the faintest trace of a primitive belief in whipping as a cure is found in an amusing little epigram from the Greek Anthology.²²⁴ It relates that, in order to bring about a double cure of a slothful man and a madman, they were placed together in the same bed. As we should expect, the madman attacked his bedfellow, who is forced to set upon him in self-defense. The ensuing beating was supposed effectually to cure the madman. Perhaps it is somewhat far-fetched to see

²²² Frazer, *Golden Bough*,³ ix. p. 2.

²²³ *Ibid.* p. 259 f. Source, W. Crooke, *Pop. Rel. and Folk-lore of North Ind.* i. 99-155.

²²⁴ Vol. iii. p. 110 (Stadtmüller), 141.

in this story a survival of primitive thought, but many a modern custom has as obscure an origin.

5. *Music.*

The two-fold effect of music was recognized early in the history of the human race: first, a stimulation of the emotions to undue activity, while the reason remains temporarily in abeyance; second, a calming or sedative effect. The Greeks believed that a "sobering influence" ²²⁵ was produced by the music of certain stringed instruments. In the first class belongs such music as that produced by the Phrygian flute, the effect of which may be seen in various orgiastic rites. A modern instance which comes readily to mind is in connection with the Whirling Dervishes; or certain dances to the beating of the tom-tom. As an example of the soothing effect of music may be cited the familiar story of David playing before Saul. This effect was, however, recognized long before the time of Saul; for in a papyrus said to date from the fifteenth century before Christ, the following occurs:

"If thou makest a man that knows not the plectrum master of the harp, he will not play to charm away Melancholy." ²²⁶

In discussing the effect of music, Farnell states Müller's views as follows: "Müller supposes that music was associated with the Apolline *κάθαρσις*: this is only proved as far as the cure of madness was regarded as *κάθαρσις*: it does not appear in the Apolline purifications from madness or guilt, though the Bacchic dance and song were supposed to have this effect on the Mænads." ²²⁷

²²⁵ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,³ v. p. 54 f. Frazer discusses the original object of music, i. e., inspiration or exorcism. He calls attention to the lyre in the legends of Elisha and David, used by the former to "tune himself to the prophetic pitch," by the latter "for the sake of exorcising the foul fiend from Saul." Among the Greeks, string music appears to have had a "sobering influence, as contrasted with the exciting influence of flute music." Frazer's theory is perhaps not quite sound.

²²⁶ Tuke, *Dict. of Psych. Med.* Introd. p. 2; source, Mahaffy, *Proleg. to Anc. Hist.* (1891), p. 291. I have been unable to verify Mahaffy.

²²⁷ *Cults of the Greek States*, iv. p. 246, note a; Müller, *Die Dorier* 2. 2. 8. 10.

Celsus recommended music as a cure for madness.²²⁸ He advocated also a combination of motion and sound. This was effected by swinging the sufferer in a hammock and causing the sound of a waterfall to be imitated nearby.²²⁹ Plato²³⁰ also advocated the combination of motion and sound as a cure for madness, since he mentions 'the use of the remedy of motion in the rites of the Corybantes . . . and the Bacchic women are cured of their frenzy by the use of the dance and of music.' The reason for the cure he gives as follows: 'the motion coming from without gets the better of the violent internal one, and produces a peace and calm in the soul . . . and making the Bacchantes . . . to dance to the pipe with the help of the gods to whom they offer acceptable sacrifices, and producing in them a sound mind, which takes the place of their frenzy.' Plutarch states that the Spartans were once afflicted with the plague and upon sending to the oracle at Delphi they were told to "invite Thaletas, the musician from Crete, who healed them of their disorder by his music."²³¹ The passage is noteworthy because Thaletas introduced dramatic dancing at Sparta.²³² It is probable, then, that the music by which the Spartans were healed, according to legend, was, in reality, a combination of motion and music.

The Præitides were said to have been cured of their madness by Melampus *μεθ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ τινος ἐνθέου χορείας*.²³³ Unfortunately, our information with regard to this point is meagre indeed, but it may be inferred with a fair amount of certainty that music played a part in the healing of the Præitides.

Belief in the soothing effect of music upon a disordered mind was held, among others, by Aristotle²³⁴ and by Dion Chrysostom.²³⁵ Whether its purpose was to expel or to appease the evil

²²⁸ 3. 18. p. 161 (Haller).

²²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 162 (Haller), recommended by Celsus as conducive to sleep; cf. Sappho, *fr.* 4.

²³⁰ *Laws* VII. 790 E. For the reason, see *Laws* VII. 790 E.

²³¹ *De Musica*, 42. 1, cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV. p. 240.

²³² Strabo 10. 481; cf. Croiset, *Hist. d. l. Litt. Grec.* II. p. 279 ff.

²³³ Apollod. II. 29.

²³⁴ *Pol.* 8. 7.

²³⁵ 32. 681 R.

spirit is somewhat difficult to determine. David played before Saul probably with one of these motives. Among the Greeks it appears that the object of music was to calm the disturbed spirit, but not necessarily to drive it forth. This was a later development.

6. *Miscellaneous Beliefs.*

Dioscorides says that it is beneficial to cut the vein under the tongue for about a finger's breadth.²³⁶ In connection with this statement, it is interesting to note that belief in the therapeutic value of bleeding persisted even through the first part of the nineteenth century.

A story related by Ælian²³⁷ is that there was once a sacred scribe among the Egyptians. His name was Iachim and he was beloved of the gods. He seems to have been possessed of a certain skill in the healing of diseases, and once put a stop to a plague which was ravaging the country. After his death, whenever an attack of epilepsy broke out, the sacred scribes went to his tomb, performed the needful sacred rites, then kindled a fire from the altar, made watch fires throughout the cities, and thus cured the disorder. It is obvious that the fires kindled throughout the affected districts were all lighted from the altar-fire which was made near the tomb. The purpose would be to get into contact, by means of the fire and sacred rites, with the healing power possessed by the dead scribe and then dispense it throughout the cities. The parallels to this ancient custom found among modern primitive people are interesting and instructive. The Gallas of Africa are accustomed to light huge fires for the purpose of frightening away the demons of disease.²³⁸ Among the Huron Indians, the custom prevails of throwing fire and burning brands about the streets.²³⁹ On the Gold Coast of West Africa the natives wave torches, at the same time beating the air wildly with sticks.²⁴⁰ In this way the demons are expelled.

²³⁶ *De Simpl.* 18.

²³⁷ *Frag.* 105.

²³⁸ Frazer, *Golden Bough* ³ ix. p. 121.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 120.

In the year 331 B. C. an epidemic of madness at Rome was cured by driving a nail into a wall.²⁴¹ The driving of an iron nail into the spot where the head of an epileptic strikes will cure the disease.²⁴² This ancient idea of effecting a cure by means of a nail has survived also in modern beliefs. Thanks to the numerous examples collected by Frazer, the significance of this custom is easily understood. The demon is plugged.²⁴³ This is especially clear in the case of the epileptic, as the demon is quite likely to be somewhat upset by the fall, and may have been thought to be expelled from the head or through the mouth of the sufferer. Then if a nail were quickly driven into the place of contact, the fate of the demon would be sealed. A practice serving the same purpose, though performed in a different fashion, is known among the Arabs. Place a dish of water on the head of one who is suffering from melancholy or madness caused by love. Drop into the dish melted lead, "and then bury the lead in an open field; thus the mischief that was in the man goes away."²⁴⁴

The present writer has been unable to find in Greek literature any instances of plugging the demon of madness, although such beliefs or their survivals may be contained in patristic literature. Tambornino,²⁴⁵ in his discussion of exorcism, lists a number of metals which were believed by the Greeks to be efficacious in drawing out the demon from the body of the possessed one, and he states that the place of exit was often through the nostrils. In may, therefore, be inferred that the ancient Greeks in common with the Romans and modern primitive peoples occasionally plugged the demon of madness.

²⁴¹ Livy, 8. 18.

²⁴² Pliny (28. 63) says that this was an alleged cure; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*,³ ix. p. 68. n. 2. "In the north-west highlands of Scotland it used to be customary to bury a black cock alive on the spot where an epileptic patient fell down. Along with the cock were buried parings of the patient's nails and a lock of his hair."

²⁴³ *Golden Bough* ³ ix. 61, demon plugged up in a log; p. 63, demon nailed down in Morocco.

²⁴⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough* ³ ix. 4, authority, W. Robertson Smith who drew upon David of Antioch, *Tazyin*, in the story "*Orwa*."

²⁴⁵ Cf. 83 f.

CHAPTER VI

MADNESS AS DEALT WITH IN GREEK LAW

It has been stated that "the severance of law from morality, and of religion from law" belongs "very distinctly to the *later* stages of mental progress."²⁴⁶ Religion in the eyes of primitive man is the law by which he orders his life. In Greek religion fear of the dead plays a most important rôle, so important, in fact, that not only does it exert a strong influence over every phase of life, but it supplies nourishment to the roots of Greek penal law.²⁴⁷ Springing from such soil, it is not surprising that this law should, in regard to madness, manifest certain peculiarities. Before entering, however, upon a detailed examination of the legal aspects of madness, it is well to make a classification of the divisions according to which this question will be discussed.

1. Criminal responsibility.
2. *δίκη παρανόλας*.
3. Marriage and divorce.
4. Right of testament and adoption.
5. Treatment of mad slaves.

1. *Criminal responsibility.*

Coexistent in the life of the primitive Greek were two apparently opposed beliefs: first, he who was guilty of murder was subject to an attack of madness caused by the spirit of the murdered man; second, deeds of exceptional violence, such as the murder of members of a man's own family, were caused by madness sent by the gods. Concerning the priority of either belief, no definite conclusion can be reached. Even though in

²⁴⁶ Maine, H. S., *Anc. Law*, New York, p. 15; cf. Murray, *Four Stages of Gr. Rel.* p. 50 f.

²⁴⁷ For general discussion see, Mauss, *La rel. et les origines des droit pénal*, *Rev. de l'hist. d. relig.*, 1896, pp. 269-295.

Greek law of the fifth century B. C. these ideas may not have been consciously present, still their influence can be very clearly discerned. The strongest trace will be found in the following passages from Plato, the second of which is explanatory of the first.

Plato has been discussing the punishment of certain crimes: sacrilege, treason, and subversion of the government. 'A man may very likely commit some of these crimes, either in a state of madness, or when affected by disease, or under the influence of extreme old age, or in a fit of childish wantonness, himself no better than a child. And if this be made evident to one of the judges elected to try the cause, on the appeal of the criminal or his advocate and he be judged to have been in this state when he committed the offence, he shall simply pay for the hurt which he may have done to another; but he shall be exempt from other penalties, unless he have slain some one, and have on his hands the stain of blood. And in that case he shall go to another land and country, and there dwell for a year; and if he return before the expiration of the time which the law appoints, or even set foot at all on his native land, he shall be bound by the guardians of the law and shall be the bondsman of the state for two years, then go free.'²⁴⁸ The next passage reads as follows:

'He who has suffered a violent end, when newly dead, if he has had the soul of a freeman in life, is angry with the author of his death; and being himself full of fear and panic by reason of his violent end, when he sees his murderer walking about in his own accustomed haunts, he is stricken with terror and becomes disordered, and this disorder of his, aided by the guilty recollection of the other, is communicated by him with overwhelming force to the murderer and his deeds. Wherefore also the murderer must go out of the way of his victim for the entire period of a year, and not himself be found in any spot which was familiar to him throughout the country.'²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ *Laws*, IX. 864 D f. tr. Jowett; cf. 855 C.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 865 F, tr. Jowett. "In the *Laws* murder and homicide besides being crimes, are also pollutions. Regarded from this point of view, the estimate of such offences is apt to depend on accidental circumstances, such as the shedding of blood, and not on the real guilt of the offender or the injury done to society. They are measured by the horror which they arouse in a barbarous age. For there is a superstition in law as well as in religion, and the feelings of a primitive age have a traditional hold on the mass of the people." Jowett, *Introd. to trans. of Plato's Laws*, p. 203.

The latter belief, upon which Greek penal law rests, must be understood as a survival from an earlier stage. In accordance with the terms of this law, he who was guilty of treason, sacrilege, or crimes of like character, if found insane, was held responsible only for the payment of a fine, while the usual penalty for the commission of such crimes was death.²⁵⁰ If, however, the madman 'have upon his hands the stain of blood,' so Plato writes, 'he must suffer the penalty of exile for the space of a year from the country where his crime had been committed, for underlying this law lay the primitive belief that the spirits of murdered men were no respecters of mental deficiency. On this point Greek law differed materially from Roman.²⁵¹ Connected with this primitive conception are the legends of the wandering madmen of antiquity such as Bellerophon, who had apparently committed some atrocity from the consequences of which he must flee.²⁵² In the Iliad,²⁵³ he is 'hated of the gods.' The Orestes legend is, however, the most typical.

Before entering upon a study of the practical application of such a law as that stated by Plato to cases of homicidal madness, it is necessary to mention the belief in accordance with which deeds of violence are caused by madness sent by the gods. Thus Heracles, Ajax, Alemæon, Lyeurgus, Athamas, and other legendary madmen,²⁵⁴ commit murder while in a state of mad-

²⁵⁰ Plato, *Laws*, IX, 856 C f.

²⁵¹ Cf. Semelaigne, *Études Hist. sur l'Alién. Ment. dans l'Antiq.* pp. 219 ff. Source: *Dig.* I. 18. 13. *Furiosis, si non possint per necessarios contineri, eo remedio per praesidem obviam eundum est; scilicet ut carcere contineantur, et ita divus Pius rescripsit, sane exequendum divi fratres putaverunt in persona eius, qui parricidium admiserat, utrum simulato furore facinus admisisset an vero re vera compos mentis non esset, ut si simulasset, plecteretur, si fureret, in carcere contineretur.*

²⁵² Apollod. II. 30 f. (Wagner).

²⁵³ VI. 200 ff., cf. Murray, Gilbert, *Rise of the Greek Epic* (2nd ed.), Oxford, 1911, pp. 197 ff.; Harrison, *Proleg.* pp. 218 ff.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Apollod. III. 35, Dryas, in a fit of insanity, murdered his son; Plut. *De Fluv.* 9. 2; Meander, maddened by Cybele, slew his wife and son; Apollod. III. 37, the Argive women, maddened by Dionysus, ate their own children; *Æl. V. H.* 3. 42. 1. 24 f., daughters of Minyas murdered the son

ness and afterwards must be purified. The purification is from the pollution of murder, and their deeds would be accounted involuntary homicide.²⁵⁵ This belief might be concisely stated as follows: a man by some act incurs the anger of a god; during the attack of madness sent upon him as a punishment, *i. e.*, if his punishment takes this form, he commits a murder and is forced to flee, lest he be pursued by the avenging spirit of the murdered man.

Theoretically, then, a madman might be punished for his crime, but what was the actual practice? Numerous are the examples of historical madmen who were guilty of murder. What happened to Cleomenes, to Cambyses, and to Cotys,²⁵⁶ King of Thrace, who, during an attack of insanity, killed two of his guards and chopped up his wife; or to Atarbes,²⁵⁷ who killed the sacred bird of Asclepius? Ælian says that Atarbes was put to death; that no excuse of ignorance or madness was accepted. From Ælian's disapproval of the act, it may be inferred that a madman was not, in his day, held criminally responsible. The imprisonment of Cleomenes in stocks has been previously mentioned.²⁵⁸ As for Cambyses and Cotys, there is no record of any punishment inflicted by the law; a natural result, since all law was embodied in their own royal persons. Unfortunately for the seeker after a practical application of law in the case of murder, extant Greek literature deals only with its royal or legendary personages who, during attacks of madness, commit such deeds. For further information on the subject, recourse must be had to statements concerning the

of Leucippe; Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 7. 5. 3., tells of a man who sacrificed and ate his mother, and of a slave who ate his comrade's liver.

²⁵⁵ On involuntary murder, see Lipsius, *das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, Leipzig, 1905, vol. I. p. 125.

²⁵⁶ Athen. 12. 42.

²⁵⁷ Æl. V. H. 5. 17. Atarbes is not mentioned elsewhere in Greek literature; cf. Pape, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

²⁵⁸ P. 43 and note; cf. also the story of Charilaos in Herod. 3. 45. He was 'somewhat mad' and was imprisoned by his brother. The confinement, apparently because of a trifling offence committed by Charilaos, may, however, have been protective, not merely punitive.

criminal responsibility of madmen, from which may be drawn the necessary conclusion concerning the treatment of mad murderers.

Lucian²⁵⁹ represents Simon the parasite as defending his profession by placing the blame for his lack of knowledge of any other τέχνη upon 'my lady Insanity.' Though, adds Simon, she is, in many respects, a hard task-mistress to her votaries, yet she keeps them from punishment by taking upon herself the blame, ὥσπερ διδάσκαλον ἢ παιδαγωγόν. The so-called "insanity dodge" of the present day was not unknown in antiquity. This is borne out by the instances of feigned madness mentioned in Greek literature. Solon,²⁶⁰ it is said, feigned madness to escape the death penalty proclaimed for any one who advised an expedition to Salamis. The Athenians and Megarians had been fighting for possession of Salamis. After the defeat of the former, a law was passed condemning to death anyone who ventured to advise a new expedition. Solon, with a garland on his head, made his way to the market-place and, under pretence of madness, recited his martial elegies, urging the Athenians to battle. The effect was to arouse his countrymen to such a pitch of valor that they joined battle with the Megarians and won. Solon, it is scarcely necessary to mention, was not put to death for breaking the law, but if the Athenians had been defeated, the case would probably have been very different. It is evident that Solon understood the protection to be gained from a pretence of madness.²⁶¹

Reverence for parents was urged upon the youth of Greece, and a penalty attached to such unfilial acts as the striking of a father or mother; but he who was insane was not held accountable. 'If a man dare to strike his father or his mother, or their fathers or mothers, he being at the time of sound mind, then

²⁵⁹ *Parasite* 2, 838 (Jacobitz).

²⁶⁰ Plut. *Sol.* 8; Diog. Laer. *Sol.* i. 2. 46; Polyæn. *Strat.* i. 20. 1.

²⁶¹ For the feigned madness of Odysseus, see Apollod. *ep.* 3. 7 (xii); Hyg. 95; Lycop. *Alex.* 815 ff. The astronomer Meton is said to have feigned madness, that he might keep his son from serving in the Sicilian Expedition, Æl. V. H. 13. 12; Plut. *Nic.* 13; *ibid.* *Alc.* 17.

let any one who is at hand come to the rescue as has been already said, and the metic or stranger who comes to the rescue shall be called to the first place in the games; but if he do not come he shall suffer the punishment of perpetual exile.’²⁶²

What conclusions, then, are to be drawn with reference to the criminal responsibility of the insane? Lipsius,²⁶³ discussing the technical meaning of *κακούργοι*, says: “*Als κακούργοι im technischen Sinne wurden in dem Gesetze ausdrücklich Diebe (κλέπται), Kleider-räuber (λωποδύται) und Menschenräuber (άνδραποδισταί), wohl auch Einbrecher (τοιχώρυχοι) und Beutelschneider (βαλαντιστόμοι) aufgeführt.*” Madmen, then, according to Lipsius, are not classed as *κακούργοι*. If, on the other hand, an isolated case occurred in which a madman committed a crime or misdemeanor, he would be *κακούργος* only in so far as he was, *e. g.*, a thief; and then only if the plea of insanity were disallowed.

In accordance with the law quoted above, for a crime, such as murder, connected so closely with religious thought and the fear of the dead, the full penalty of exile would be inflicted even upon the insane. On the other hand, if the plea of insanity were upheld by the court, crimes connected with religion, but devoid of so great an element of fear were probably regarded with a certain amount of leniency. In cases of minor importance, the madman was held unaccountable.²⁶⁴ So much for the theory of law. In actual practice, criminals must often have taken refuge with ‘my lady Insanity,’ while in cases such as that of Cambyzes and his fellows, the law, whatever it may have been, was of no importance. Many an unprotected madman must have suffered at the hands of an Athenian jury, and the

²⁶² Plat. *Laws*, ix. 881 A, tr. Jowett.

²⁶³ *Das Att. Recht, u. Rechtsverf.* i. 78.

²⁶⁴ For further evidence, cf. Eur. *Trojan Women* 408 ff. and *Schol.* on l. 366; Telfy, *Συναγωγή τῶν Ἀττικῶν νόμων*, *Corpus Iuris Attici*, Leipzig, 1868, 1485 p. 382. (Syrian, in *Hermog. Stat.* 194); cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*³ v. 68 f.; the sacred men of West Africa are not punished for crimes committed while in a state of madness, but are liable when the divine spirit leaves.

leniency with which his crime was viewed was probably in direct proportion to the religious feeling current.

2. δίκη παρανομίας.

'And if disease or age or harshness of temper, or all of these together, makes a man to be more out of his mind than the rest of the world are,—but this is not observable, except to those who live with him,—and he, being master of his property, is the ruin of the house, and his son doubts and hesitates about indicting his father for insanity, let the law in that case ordain that he shall first of all go to the eldest guardians of the law and tell them of his father's misfortune, and they shall duly look into the matter, and take counsel as to whether they shall indict him or not. And if they advise him to proceed, they shall be both his witnesses and his advocates; and if the father is cast, he shall henceforth be incapable of ordering the least particular of his life; let him be as a child dwelling in the house for the remainder of his days.'²⁶⁵

It is well worth notice that the appeal is to be made first to the 'guardians of the law,' not to the physician. Nowhere in Greek²⁶⁶ or Roman²⁶⁷ literature is there any evidence that a medical decision was a pre-requisite to the indictment.

The testimony of Plato upon the δίκη παρανομίας is fully corroborated by numerous statements from other authors,²⁶⁸ including the familiar story of the attempted indictment of Sophocles.²⁶⁹ It is said that the aged poet was indicted by his son, but after the old man had read to the court the Colonus

²⁶⁵ Plato, *Laws*, xi. 929 DE; tr. Jowett; cf. *Plat. Tim.* 72 A.

²⁶⁶ Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, p. 120 f. "But the most enlightened Greeks stood nearer, I fear, to the savages of the present day, who regard without respect or affection any human being who has become useless in the race of life, or who even impedes the course of human affairs. We know that, at Athens, actions of children to deprive their parents of control of property were legal and commonly occurring, nor do we hear that medical evidence of imbecility was required."

²⁶⁷ Semelaigne, *Études Hist. sur l'Alién. Ment. dans l'Antiq.* p. 215 f. Semelaigne, however, conjectures that some such examination must have taken place, even though there are no extant records to be used as proof.

²⁶⁸ Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 49; Aristoph. *Clouds*, 844 ff.; Aesch. *Against Ctes.*, 251; for discussion, see Lipsius, *das Att. Recht und Rechtver.* ii. p. 340, and note 4. For the analogous Roman law see Semelaigne, *Études Hist. sur l'Alién. Ment. dans l'Antiq.* p. 32, also Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 5.

²⁶⁹ Apul. *Ap.* 37; Cic. *de senect.* 7. 22; Lipsius, *das Att. Recht und Rechtver.* ii. p. 356, note 60.

ode of his *Edipus*, there was no longer any question of his sanity. Savage²⁷⁰ has used this tale as an illustration of the cruelty practised by an Athenian son upon his father, since the object in all such cases was clearly to gain possession of property. Various statements in the Attic Orators bear witness to this unnatural greed. It must, however, be remembered that many such statements are mere rhetorical exaggerations. The misuse of the law was probably no greater than the frequency of the modern plea of insanity in our own courts.

Perhaps the ancient banking system could take advantage of this law: if any reliance is to be placed on a passage from Philo Judæus²⁷¹ relating to the non-return of a deposit, should the depositor become insane. It is to be suspected that fraud in such cases was often perpetrated under cover of a verdict falsely secured from the court. Although this bit of evidence is not corroborated by that of other writers, still the important relation of Philo to Plato adds a greater significance to this statement.

There is no evidence to show that an indictment for insanity was used to remove troublesome madmen from the street;²⁷² the state seems to have concerned itself only with those whose madness would entail maladministration of property and family affairs. Nowhere do we read of any laws providing for the care of the insane of the poorer classes, although it is but fair to observe that this deficiency may be due to the non-preservation of such laws.

3. *Marriage and Divorce.*

Both the literature and inscriptions of Greece are markedly deficient in the matter of comment on or allusion to customs

²⁷⁰ Savage, A., *The Athenian Family*, Baltimore, 1907, p. 97 f. For the class to which these suits belonged, and the official under whose jurisdiction they came, see Lipsius, *Das Att. Recht und Rechtsverfah.* I. p. 59; Aristot. *Ath. Const.*, 56. 6, Pollux, VIII. 89.

²⁷¹ *De Plant. Noe*, 23.

²⁷² Cf. Wyse, *Is.* II. 15, notes p. 251, "Our authorities seem to show that this suit could be instituted only by sons or representatives of sons," Wyse refers to Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.*³ pp. 56. 6 ff.; Aristot. *Athen. Const.* 56. 6.

concerning madness in relation to marriage and divorce. Greek law, with the single exception of a passage in Plato, does not touch the subject, though it is probable that the legislation of Solon made some provision for the loss of sanity on the part of either husband or wife. A careful examination of the extant laws of Solon has failed to throw any light upon the problem. Semelaigne,²⁷³ in his discussion of Roman legislation relative to madness, has inferred a similarity between the laws of Greece and Rome, an inference which is based only upon grounds of general probability and is altogether wanting in evidence. Sondhaus,²⁷⁴ in his dissertation on the laws of Solon, does not refer to any precautions advised in cases of madness. The laws of Gortyn,²⁷⁵ so illuminating in other respects, make no provision for insanity. Is it to be inferred that Greece passed no legislative measures controlling marriage and divorce when insanity had to be taken into account? Plato²⁷⁶ is a solitary authority:

‘And there are cases when the legislator will be imposing upon him the greatest calamity, and he will be compelled to disobey the law, if he is required, for example, to take a wife who is mad, or has some other terrible malady of soul or body, such as makes life intolerable to the sufferer.’

In the *Trojan Women* of Euripides,²⁷⁷ the herald is represented as saying that he would not marry the frenzied Cassandra; yet Agamemnon has evidently not considered her madness a bar to concubinage. Upon the latter statement too much importance must not be placed. Cassandra was possessed of a divine frenzy which may have enhanced her value in the eyes of Agamemnon. Does the statement of the herald reflect

²⁷³ *Étud. Hist. sur l'Alién. Ment. dans l'Antiq.* p. 216, “Comme base fondamentale, la législation romaine reposait, on le sait, sur la loi des Douze Tables, empruntée en partie elle-même à la législation grecque. D'où l'on peut inférer qu'en Grèce, et sans doute ailleurs, des mesures d'ordre public et d'intérêt privé furent prises de bonne heure à l'égard des insensés.”

²⁷⁴ *De Solonis legibus.* Diss. Jena, 1909.

²⁷⁵ Dareste, Haussoulier, Reinach; *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques.* Paris, 1898-1904.

²⁷⁶ *Laws.* XI. 926 A, tr. Jowett.

²⁷⁷ 414 ff.

current feeling in the time of Euripides? Possibly Plato would not have felt it necessary to put forth the advice contained in the passage above, if he had not felt himself justified by existing conditions. Doubtless in the case of an heiress, Greek law would have required the next-of-kin to marry her, regardless of mental deficiency on her part. The only exception would be if the woman were a dangerous maniac, since in this condition her usefulness to the state would be lost.

Plato, in the *Republic*,²⁷⁸ does not mention sanity as a basis for his selection of parents, although he must have considered soundness of both mind and body. In general, it may be said that Greek law would have been influenced in all particulars by considerations of the family as opposed to the individual; marriage and divorce even in cases of insanity would have been subject to the same general rule of physical usefulness. Madness, developing after marriage, on the part of either husband or wife, if it had a disastrous effect upon the continuance of the family, would have served as a valid cause for divorce. This inference is strengthened by our knowledge of the general laxity of both marriage and divorce laws in Greece.²⁷⁹

4. *Right of Testament and Adoption.*

Since the right of testament and adoption so closely concerned the state, it is to be expected that Greek law should contain certain definite statements regarding this important phase of ancient life. The present concern is with only one clause of this law, in which clause it is explicitly stated that full possession of mental faculties is a pre-requisite to testamentary and adoptive rights.²⁸⁰ As the perpetuation of the family had been

²⁷⁸ v. 459 D.

²⁷⁹ For a recent discussion of marriage in Greece, see Savage, *The Athenian Family*, pp. 46-87. Full citations are given from the Attic Orators. Divorce cases came before the Archon, see Lipsius, *Das Att. Recht und Rechtsverf.* I. p. 59.

²⁸⁰ For the complete law, see Aristot. *Athen. Const.* 35. 2. 15; cf. also ps.-Dem. 46. 14; Is. 6. 9; Hyp. 8. 17; Lys. fr. 74; Wyse, *Isaeus*, notes p. 250: "The formula, *νοῦν καὶ φρενῶν*, is constant in Greek wills and

a sacred duty from time immemorial, and as the state, through the loss of the family cult, would be deprived of certain services, it was exceedingly important that infringement of testamentary law should be guarded against as strongly as possible.

By the operation of this law, it was possible for one, who, after having regarded himself the rightful heir to a property, was suddenly cut off by the testamentary adoption of a son, to enter before the court a plea of insanity on the part of the testator and make an attempt to have the will declared invalid. Athenian judges are known to have exercised much liberty in setting aside wills, hence this law often afforded a convenient loophole. As an example of an effort to invalidate a will, thereby annulling the rights of the adopted heirs, the first speech of Isaeus²⁸¹ may be cited in which the testator, Cleonymus, has, in his will, disregarded his sister's sons and left his property to certain collateral relations. After his death, the nephews, by one of whom the speech was delivered, entered a plea of insanity on the part of the testator and attempted to break the will. The plea rested, apparently, upon the grounds that although the will had been made some time before the testator's death and had been lodged with one of the *ἀστυνόμοι*, yet during all that time no effort had been made to revoke it. However, during the last illness of the testator, a magistrate was summoned presumably to bring the will, but upon arriving at the house of illness, he was denied admission. Cleonymus died that night. In the

can be traced in inscriptions and papyri from the 3rd century B. C. to the 6th century A. D."; cf. discussion of *εὐ νοῶν*, p. 250; Wyse, p. 248, "It is curious to find the right of adoption founded on Solon's law of testament, for in the order of historical development adoption is prior to testation." For discussion of Solonian legislation regarding wills and adoption, Sondhaus, *de Solonis legibus* pp. 19 ff. Sondhaus holds that adoption was prior to the laws of Solon.

²⁸¹ Or. I. *On the Estate of Cleonymus*. Wyse, *Isaeus*, p. 196, "The orator does not himself maintain that the will is invalid because Cleonymus was mad when he made it; his contention is that Cleonymus repented and wished to revoke it. But he intends to claim that the case of his opponents amounts to an attack upon the testator's sanity (par. 20. 21. 50), cf. IX. 36. 37." Cf. also *Is.* II. 14. 15; IV. 14. 7; VI. 9. 9; VII. 1. 2.

court, therefore, the nephews declared that their uncle intended changing the will in their favor.

Isaeus does not make clear the exact grounds upon which the plea of insanity was entered. His reasoning is somewhat confused. It cannot be stated with certainty whether Cleonymus was declared insane because he passed over his sister's sons, or because he "never desired to revoke" the will.²⁸² The speaker asserts that 'If he (Cleonymus) was so crazy as always (not only in his last hours but also at the time of making the will) to care least for his nearest and most intimate relations, you will be justified in invalidating such a will.'²⁸³ A note in Wyse is instructive upon the question of the alleged madness of Cleonymus: "The madness seems to be a deduction from two circumstances, the character of the will and the alleged intention of 'confirming' it, and the will is to be declared invalid, because from first to last (ἀεὶ) Cleonymus behaved like a man out of his senses (οὐκ εἶν φρονῶν)."²⁸⁴ The outcome of this particular case was that the nephews had to submit to arbitration.

It seems scarcely necessary to multiply instances of the operation of this law in Greece, as the mode of procedure is usually identical with that mentioned in the case of Cleonymus. Undoubtedly there were many illegal transactions which took place under its protection, but not more so than in the present day.

5. *Treatment of mad slaves.*

Public feeling, as has been seen from the preceding pages, was never aroused, to any great extent, to undertake measures for the alleviation of the condition of the insane. Harmless madmen, as we have observed, afforded a fruitful source of amusement to the Athenian rabble. They seem to have lived as the beasts of the field and the birds of the air. If all were as happy as Thrasyllus,²⁸⁵ who watched the ships sail in and out of the Peiræus and counted them his own, what need was there to disturb them? Thrasyllus, it may be mentioned incidentally,

²⁸² Wyse, *Isaeus*, p. 231 (notes).

²⁸⁴ Wyse, *Isaeus*, p. 205.

²⁸³ *Is.* I. 21. 5. tr. Wyse.

²⁸⁵ *Æl.* V. H. 4. 25.

had a brother who took an interest in his welfare. If madmen, on the whole, received little care, what are we to expect in the case of a mad slave? What happened to him? As a piece of actual merchandise, he was worthless.

Diogenes Laertius ²⁸⁶ tells of a certain Monimus who was the slave of a money-changer. This Monimus wished to leave his master and become a follower of Diogenes. So, feigning insanity, he threw around his master's money and conducted himself in such a mad fashion that he was driven away. Such was the treatment which, in all probability, a mad slave received. When the Athenian had the right, so often exercised, of exposing his infant children whom he did not wish to rear, would he have been any more merciful toward a chattel whose usefulness had become impaired? The slave who lost his wits, unless he stood in some close relation to the master and his family, was probably driven out of the house, thus adding one more to the number of wandering beggars. That such must have been the case is shown by a passage in Plato which imposes a heavy fine upon any one neglecting to care for a mad slave.²⁸⁷

In one particular the law did interfere, but for whose protection was the interference? That the slave-dealer might not be swindled. The law to which reference is made is one which was common to many slave-dealing nations, as certain records and contracts found in Egypt fully attest.²⁸⁸ In Plato ²⁸⁹ the law reads as follows:

'If a man sells a slave who is in a consumption, or who has the disease of the stone, or of strangury, or epilepsy, or some other tedious and incurable disorder of body or mind, which is not discernible to the ordinary man, if the purchaser be a physician or trainer, he shall have no right of restitution; nor shall there be any right of restitution if the seller has told the truth beforehand to the buyer. But if a skilled person sells to another who is not skilled, let the buyer appeal for restitution within six months, except in the case of epilepsy, and then the appeal may be made within a

²⁸⁶ VI. 3. 82.

²⁸⁷ *Laws*. XI. 934 D. Cases of neglect must have been noticed by Plato.

²⁸⁸ Mitteis-Wilken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Berlin, 1912, vol. II. Part I. pp. 193 ff., *Kauf von Sklaven*.

²⁸⁹ *Laws*. XI. 916 A, f. tr. Jowett.

year, and shall be determined by such physicians as the parties may agree to choose; and he who loses the suit shall pay double the price at which he sold. If a private person sell to another private person, he shall have the right of restitution, and the decision shall be given as before, but he who loses the suit shall only pay back the price of the slave.²⁹⁰

In this connection, the ingenious device for testing the sanity of a slave should be recalled. It will be remembered that the use of burning jet, mentioned in the preceding chapter, was especially recommended to those who were about to buy slaves.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ Cf. Suidas, s. v. *ἐναγωγή οἰκέτου*; Lipsius, *Der Att. Proc.* II, p. 744. The Roman law seems to have been practically identical, see Semelaigne, *Étud. Hist. sur l'Alién. Ment. dans Antiq.* p. 258, section on "*Mesures relatives aux esclaves insensés.*"

²⁹¹ See note 206.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Owing to the diverse nature of the material examined for this study and to the legendary character of certain portions of it, it has not been possible in every instance to arrive at a positive conclusion. In all such cases the writer has been content to examine and present the material in question, and to suggest a possible explanation in the hope that such work may serve at least as a point of departure for further investigations. In other cases, however, the evidence found in Greek literature for the existence of certain popular customs and beliefs concerning madness has proved adequate and conclusive, and has warranted the following conclusions:

First: the ancient Greeks in common with modern primitive peoples ascribed the cause of the mysterious phenomenon of madness to some superhuman power which had seized upon or entered into the afflicted person. (Ch. II.)

Second: methods varying according to the nature of the controlling power were resorted to as a means of placation or expulsion. In the case of possession by an irate god, or in order to escape the madness sent by the avenging spirit of a murdered man, these methods usually consisted in: for the first, sacrifice and participation in the mysteries; for the second, purificatory rites and flight from the country in which the murder had been committed. In the case of possession by spirits of personified diseases and in the case of the *sacred disease*, these methods included the wearing of amulets and the use of certain quasi-medical preparations. (Ch. V.)

Third: the study of the relation of madness to the religious, social, and legal institutions of ancient Greece has yielded the following results:

1. Relation to religion. Among the ancient Greeks the personal sanctity of the madman, as in some way connected with

the divine, varied in direct proportion to the reverence in which the gods were held. As the latter decreased, the former kept pace with it. This explains the descent of the madman, once considered, perhaps, under the protection of the gods, to the level of the beggar. (Ch. III.)

(For a conjecture concerning the possible sacrifice of madmen as victims peculiarly acceptable to the god, see page 32.)

2. Relation to the social organization. As the connection of the madman with religion decreased he became less and less important as a factor in the social organization of Greece. As an individual whose usefulness to the state had been impaired or entirely destroyed he was regarded as waste material, and no measures were taken by the state to provide for his welfare. Such provision was left to popular custom. (Ch. IV.)

3. Relation to law. Greek law took little account of the madman. According to Plato, he was held only partially responsible for any crime, and only in the case of murder was the full penalty of exile advocated. This was owing, doubtless, to the primitive conception underlying Greek penal law. The madman was, however, deprived of certain of the rights of citizenship; for example, testamentary and adoptive rights. There is no evidence to show that a medical examination was a pre-requisite to an indictment for insanity. Examination of these provisions goes to prove that, although the law did take certain steps to protect others against the madman, it paid little heed to the problem of protecting him against himself or against the machinations of those about him. (Ch. VI.)

The whole question of madness in ancient Greece, then, seems to have been dealt with, largely, by popular custom, except in cases where the madman was of positive value, through his connection with religion, or a positive menace to the state through his irresponsibility.

